



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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CONTENTS

19 September 1991

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Arms Control & Disarmament

Soviet Delegate Ryzhov Addresses IAEA Meeting [TASS]	1
Union Treaty To Control Nuclear Weapons Sought [TASS]	1
U.S. Nuclear Arms Pullout From Europe Advocated [Moscow International]	1

Worldwide Issues

Deryabin Submits Human Rights Proposal to CSCE [RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 13 Sep]	2
Comparison of Yeltsin Speech to CSCE Conference [TASS]	2
Polish Foreign Minister Comments on CSCE Talks [Moscow International]	4
UK's Hurd Gives News Conference at CSCE Forum [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Sep]	6
Economic Delegation To Discuss EC Food Aid [TASS]	6
UNCTAD Report Sees USSR Recession Worsening [PRAVDA 17 Sep]	6

United States & Canada

Secretary Brady Arrives in Moscow for Talks [TASS]	7
Discusses Economic Aid [TASS]	7
Meets With Silayev [Radio Rossii]	7
Scowcroft Urges 'Farsighted' Policy Toward USSR [PRAVDA 13 Sep]	7
Gorbachev Meets U.S. Businessman in Moscow [TASS]	8
U.S. Diplomat Received at Foreign Ministry [TASS]	8

Northeast Asia

Rogachev: Good Relations With PRC 'Priority' [TASS]	8
Medvedev Agrees To Oct ROK Credits Meeting [TASS]	8
Visa-Free Travel Allowed From Kuriles to Japan [TASS]	9

Near East & South Asia

Primakov Passes Gorbachev Message to Rafsanjani [TASS]	9
Assesses Talks; Departs [TASS]	9
Belonogov Arrives in Tunis for Talks With PLO [TASS]	10
Urges Israeli Withdrawal [TASS]	10
Meets With 'Arafat [TASS]	10
Envoy to Israel on Prospects for Formal Relations [INTERFAX]	10
Envoy on Mideast Peace Conference, Algeria Ties [Moscow Radio]	11

Sub-Saharan Africa

Resumption of Ties With South Africa Urged [IZVESTIYA 17 Sep]	11
---	----

East Europe

Foreign Ministry Comments on Yugoslav Conflict	13
Says Arms Supplies Halted [TASS]	13
Cautious on Peacekeeping Force [INTERFAX]	13

West Europe

Primakov Arrives in Turkey 19 Sep [TASS]	13
Pankin's Stockholm News Conference Reported [TASS]	13
Official Dismisses Territory Dispute With Finland [INTERFAX]	14
German Envoy, Kozyrev Discuss Yeltsin Bonn Visit [Hamburg DPA]	15
Italian Defense Minister Comments on Moscow Talks [TASS]	15
Soviet Military Inspectors Arrive in France [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Sep]	15
Ambassador to Ireland Returns to Dublin [London PRESS ASSOCIATION]	15
Ambassador to France Returns to Post [Paris Radio]	15

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Editors Discuss Prospects for Future [Moscow TV]	16
IZVESTIYA Interviews Gorbachev [19 Sep]	21
Bakatin Interviewed on Changes in KGB [MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI No 36]	22
Top KGB Appointees' Responsibilities Outlined [IZVESTIYA 14 Sep]	23
Priest Details KGB, Church Collaboration [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 36]	24
Lukyanov's Attorney Answers Colleagues' Charge [IZVESTIYA 13 Sep]	25
Shevardnadze Urges Endorsement of Union Treaty [INTERFAX]	27
Buzgalin Denies Wish to 'Reconstitute' CPSU [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 14 Sep]	27
'Last of Gulag Islands' Houses 15 Prisoners [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 14 Sep]	28

Media & Journalism

Former State TV Chief Kravchenko Interviewed [Moscow TV]	28
TASS Reviews 19 Sep Central Press	31

Economic

Silayev To Head Interrepublic Economic Committee [IZVESTIYA 19 Sep]	32
Yavlinskiy Says Economic Treaty Completed Soon [Moscow International]	33
Stabilization Program 'Will Work' [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 14 Sep]	34
On Chance for Economic Turnaround [TASS]	34
Economy Committee Views Financial Problems [TASS]	34
Finance Ministry Attacked Over Budget Report [IZVESTIYA 16 Sep]	35
Ozherelyev on Economic Problems, Prospects [TASS]	36
Text of Statement Adopted by Central Bank Leaders [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 14 Sep]	36
Economic Union Without Political Conditions Viewed [PRAVDA 14 Sep]	36
August Economic Performance Reviewed [IZVESTIYA 14 Sep]	37
'Elimination' of Turkmen Trade Unions Criticized [TRUD 11 Sep]	38

Military

General Lobov Examines Defense Ministry Tasks [Rome LA REPUBBLICA 17 Sep]	38
Interrepublic Military Discussions Reported [IZVESTIYA 14 Sep]	40
Controversy Over Mutinous Submarine Detailed [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 29 Aug]	40

BALTIC COUNTRIES

Baltic Affairs

Baltic News Service Operations, Origins Viewed [Tallinn Radio]	42
Three Main Exchanges Establish Association [BALTFAX]	42

Estonia

Savisaar Raises St. Petersburg 'Territorial' Issue [BALTFAX]	42
Russia-Estonia Border Accord Signed [BALTFAX]	43

Savisaar Supports Payment of USSR Debt [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 18 Sep]	43
Republic Economic Cooperation Talks in Tallinn [Tallinn Radio]	43
Bank President's Costly 'Incompetence' Cited [TASS]	43
Council Accepts Resignation [BALTFAX]	43
Bread Shortages, Storage Problems Persist [Tallinn Radio]	44

Latvia

Shaposhnikov, Godmanis on Soviet Troop Withdrawal [BALTFAX]	44
Finnish Foreign Ministry Delegation Visits Riga [BALTFAX]	44
Economy Minister on United Baltic Economy [TASS]	44
New Customs, Entry Rules Detailed [IZVESTIYA 17 Sep]	45

Lithuania

Landsbergis Calls For Troop Withdrawal at UN [BALTFAX]	45
Kuzmickas Discusses UN Membership, Poland [TASS]	45
Landsbergis 'Surprised' at Warsaw's Reaction [Radio Vilnius]	45
Polish Deputy: Dissolving Councils Violates Law [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA 12 Sep]	46
Kohl, Vagnorius View Expanded Relations [TASS]	46
Procurator Investigates OMON Activities [TASS]	47
Damage to Media Facilities Detailed [Radio Vilnius]	47
Small Business Privatization Auction Held [IZVESTIYA 17 Sep]	47

RSFSR

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Allegedly Falls Ill; Conflicting Reports	49
Sources Deny Hospital Stay [INTERFAX]	49
Official Rebutts Heart Attack [Radio Rossii]	49
Misses Supreme Soviet Opening [TASS]	49
Yeltsin, Nazarbayev To Visit Azerbaijan [Moscow Radio]	49
Yeltsin Signs Decree on Chernobyl Disaster [Moscow TV]	49
Effects of Decree Cited [Moscow Radio]	50
Yeltsin Announces Association, Media Laws 'Ready' [Moscow TV]	50
Supreme Soviet Presidium 16 Sep Session Held [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 18 Sep]	50
Supreme Soviet Holds 4th Session 19-27 Sep	50
Suggested Agenda Listed [INTERFAX]	50
TASS Previews Meeting	50
Khasbulatov Previews Program [Moscow Radio]	51
Khasbulatov Addresses Assembly [TASS]	52
Russian Communist Party To Attempt Revival [AFP]	52
Coup Prosecutions To Proceed According to Law [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 13 Sep]	53
Russian Prosecutor Interviewed on Coup Case [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 17 Sep]	53
Rutskoy: Russia's 'Big Brother' Role Is Over [Paris LE FIGARO 14-15 Sep]	54
Grachev Rejects Forming Defense Ministry Now [TASS]	55
Afanasyev Opens Democratic Russia Movement Plenum [Radio Rossii]	55
Saburov Notes Plan To Embark on Economic Reform [TASS]	55
Lobov Comments on 'Dismal' Economic Prospects [TASS]	56
Committee Announces Formation of National Guard [TASS]	56
Seminar Conducted on Alternative Military Service [Radio Rossii]	56

Local Affairs

Reportage Continues on Chechen-Ingush Situation	57
Peace Delegation Completes Work [Moscow TV]	57
Khasbulatov Arrives 14 Sep [Radio Rossii]	57
New Power Body Established [TASS]	57
'Long-Awaited Compromise' Achieved [TASS]	58

Sobchak Proposes Mayors' Meeting in Caucasus [INTERFAX]	58
Moscow Mayor Says Privatization To Begin in Oct [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 14 Sep]	58
Mossovets Continue Hunger Strike [Moscow TV]	58
Stock Exchange President Released From Custody [Moscow Radio]	59
St. Petersburg Status Documents Drafted [IZVESTIYA 13 Sep]	59
Democratic Russia 'Activists' Issue Demands [Radio Rossii]	59
Military Secrecy Hampers Radiation Survey [Russian TV]	59
Nakhodka Mayor Sees Dim Prospects for FEZ [INTERFAX]	60
Sverdlovsk Deputies Oppose Presidential Appointees [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 14 Sep]	60
New Members Join Urals Economic Association [IZVESTIYA 13 Sep]	60
W. Siberian Exchanges Putting More Oil on Market [INTERFAX]	60

External Affairs

Mayor Sobchak Plans Request for EBRD Aid [INTERFAX]	60
Kunadze, Sakhalin Official Discuss Kurils Dispute [INTERFAX]	61
Commentary Reviews Khasbulatov Japan Visit [Moscow Radio]	61
Knesset Delegation Leader on Possible Ties [INTERFAX]	62

Media

Reappearance of '600 Seconds' Program Reported [SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA 14 Sep]	62
Popov Interviewed on New 'Doubts' Program [Moscow TV]	63

WESTERN REPUBLICS

Belorussia

Elections Held for Supreme Soviet Chairman	65
Second Round Inconclusive [TASS]	65
Shushkevich Elected [Radio Rossii]	65
International Aid Urged for Chernobyl Cleanup [TASS]	65

Ukraine

Kravchuk Addresses Deputies; Constitution Changed [Kiev Radio]	65
Supreme Soviet Adopts Law on Investment [INTERFAX]	66

Moldova

Further Reportage on Dnestr; Sabotage Feared [IZVESTIYA 14 Sep]	66
Snegur Creates Commission [TASS]	66
Russian Deputies Meet Snegur [TASS]	67
Russian Deputies Meet Leaders [Bucharest ROMPRES]	67
Economic Ramifications [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 Sep]	67

CAUCASUS

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Urges People To Defend Government [TASS]	68
Political Events 'Out of Gamsakhurdia's Control' [IZVESTIYA 19 Sep]	68
Pro-, Anti-Gamsakhurdia Clashes [Moscow Radio]	69
Opposition Says President 'Doomed' [INTERFAX]	69
More on Opposition Leader's Arrest [IZVESTIYA 18 Aug]	69
Supreme Soviet To Discuss Political Crisis [TASS]	70
Consider Emergency Measures [AFP]	70
Supreme Soviet Brands USSR Army 'Occupiers' [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Sep]	70
Gamsakhurdia on Human Rights, 'Coexistence' [SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA 3 Sep]	71
Fighting Continues in South Ossetia [TASS]	71
TASS Bureau Attacked in Tbilisi [TASS]	72

Armenia

Erkech Retaken, Battle for Manashid Continues	[Radio Rossii]	72
MVD Chief Views Outbreak of New Tensions	[IZVESTIYA 14 Sep]	72
Official Assesses Army Commander's Suicide	[INTERFAX]	72

Azerbaijan

Moscow Envoy Denies Appeal for Gorbachev Decree	[INTERFAX]	72
Republic Abolishes NKA Organization Committee	[Moscow Radio]	73
Workers Reportedly Denied Wages for Strike	[INTERFAX]	73

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Gorbachev Drafts Decree on Stabilizing Situation	[TASS]	73
Fight for Villages in Shaumyanovskiy Detailed	[Yerevan Radio]	74
Military Column Attacked, Two Killed 18 Sep	[TASS]	74

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Presidium Chooses Moscow Representation	[IZVESTIYA 14 Sep]	75
Single Republican Information Ministry Formed	[TASS]	75
Newspapers Publish Privatization Program	[TASS]	75

Tajikistan

Communists Urge Political, Economic Stability	[TASS]	75
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Arms Control & Disarmament

Soviet Delegate Ryzhov Addresses IAEA Meeting

LD1709180491 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT
17 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozlov]

[Text] Vienna September 17 TASS—The elaboration and signing of an inter-republican agreement on the principles for collective security and defence and the retaining of united armed forces and united control over nuclear and other mass destruction weapons are among priorities during the creation of a new union of sovereign democratic states, a Soviet official said today.

Mikhail Ryzhov, head of the main international department of the USSR Nuclear Power Engineering and Industry Ministry, leading a Soviet delegation, addressed the general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Taking into account the anxiety by participants in the conference in connection with a possible loss of effective centralised control over safety of nuclear power engineering in the Soviet Union, Ryzhov said a new union of states will determine norms and mechanisms for a new economic space.

They will reflect all problems connected with managing nuclear power engineering and industry, including safety of nuclear power plants and related enterprises, both military and civilian, nuclear exports, physical protection of nuclear facilities and materials and international cooperation in the nuclear sphere, Ryzhov said.

Ryzhov noted a considerable progress reached in strengthening the non-proliferation regime.

Statements by France and China about their intention to join the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the fact that South Africa has joined the treaty and signed an agreement on guarantees with the IAEA, the approval of such an agreement with North Korea and the decision by Argentina and Brazil to undertake the agency's guarantees are among most important factors for such progress, Ryzhov said.

Speaking about Iraq's failure to comply with its obligations, the Soviet spokesman favoured improving and increasing the efficiency of the existing system of guarantees in order to exclude the possibility of irresponsible politicians bypassing the existing agreements.

Ryzhov noted the need to separate routine control activities by the IAEA from fulfilling special tasks.

Speaking about problems in developing nuclear power engineering in the Soviet Union, Ryzhov said that recently the public opinion in some regions of the country has been switching towards building and running nuclear power plants.

The Soviet nuclear power industry has sufficient reserves for modernising and increasing safety of nuclear facilities, Ryzhov said.

Ryzhov recalled the Soviet Union's new proposal on the international market. The Soviet Union is ready to sell natural and enriched uranium. For 1991-1995, its export opportunities total at least 5,000 tonnes of natural uranium, and they can be increased.

The enrichment technology allows to sign both long-term and short-term contracts, including one-time delivery. Resources of uranium in the Soviet Union are estimated at two million tonnes, Ryzhov said.

Union Treaty To Control Nuclear Weapons Sought

LD1709111891 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1140 GMT 16 Sep 91

[By "TASS International Observer" Albert Balebanov]

[Excerpts] Moscow, Sep 16 (TASS)—On 17 September, the 46th session of the UN General Assembly will convene in New York. One of the items of business on its agenda concerns the admittance of seven new members—among them Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia—recommended by the Security Council. [passage omitted]

In the wake of the Baltics, the other USSR republics that have proclaimed their sovereignty are now also preparing their applications to join the international community. This in turn threatens to cast doubt on the future USSR representation at the United Nations. But it would seem that as long as the Union wields authority in foreign policy and defense, including control over nuclear weapons, the USSR's representation is unlikely to change. However, if the Union were to lose control of nuclear weapons—and initial signs of this have already begun to appear, in statements by the leaders of Russia, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan—then its current status at the UN will inevitably be altered. Such a development would be unlikely to meet with applause in the world, or our country either. This, I think, is why we urgently need a new Union treaty that would finally dot the i's regarding the powers of the new Union of Sovereign States.

U.S. Nuclear Arms Pullout From Europe Advocated

LD1709095891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1210 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] Moscow has repeatedly suggested that Europe be rid of all weapons of this kind with a range of up to 500 km. The Russian President Boris Yeltsin reiterated that last week. Concrete proposals were put forward when the Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin was meeting with the United States Secretary of State James Baker. As you probably know, this country has already withdrawn its

tactical nuclear weapons from the East European nations that were affiliated with the former Warsaw Treaty Organization.

Significantly, it did so unilaterally. The United States on its part still has some 4,000 nuclear artillery shells, bombs, ground-based missiles, and nuclear anti-submarine bombs in Western Europe, namely Germany, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Turkey and Greece.

The presence of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe could be justified when the continent was split. There were two military alliances opposing each other. But the Warsaw Treaty Organization is a thing of the past. New nations have come into being in Eastern Europe and the two Germanies have reunited, and Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania have won full independence.

In this context, the presence of tactical nuclear weapons is becoming absurd. What groups can they be used against? The allies of America or new democratic nations? Besides there is the danger of unauthorized use or even seizure no matter how tightly the positioning ground [as heard] can be guarded.

Moscow has naturally welcomed the statement of the NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner that a decision to scrap tactical nuclear weapons can be adopted as early as next November. But ground-based weapons alone are liable for scrapping, which is a pity.

America has not yet spelt out a future for its new generation air-to-ground nuclear tactical missiles for bombers based in Europe. Will it adopt them by 1995? It is yet to adopt a final decision.

The European situation seems ripe for ridding the continent of all tactical nuclear weapons without hesitation. Unilateral steps could be taken even before long talks could produce comprehensive agreements. An approach of this kind draws growing support from Moscow.

Worldwide Issues

Deryabin Submits Human Rights Proposal to CSCE

91UF1174A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 13 Sep 91 p 3

[Vladimir Ostrovskiy report: "A State of Emergency Has Its Limits"]

[Text] At the morning plenary session of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension meeting, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Yu. Deryabin submitted a proposal on behalf of the Soviet delegation on the mechanism of imposing a state of emergency given compulsory observance of human rights and liberties on the territory on which this state of emergency is imposed.

Yu. Deryabin observed in his speech that the Soviet delegation attaches particular significance to the preservation of democratic constitutional institutions during the imposition of a state of emergency. He drew the attention of the participants in the plenary session to the fact that there should be no termination of the activity of legislative bodies and parliament in the period that a state of emergency is in effect. It is proposed that the meeting endorse documents enshrining positions which guarantee the activity of parliaments and their bodies at the time of the imposition of a state of emergency by one CSCE state or another.

The Soviet delegation deems it essential that in the period a state of emergency is in effect the CSCE states notify one another of the conditions and human rights which are being observed on the territory on which the state of emergency has been imposed. The USSR deputy foreign minister also proposed for the period of the state of emergency the admittance of observers of the CSCE states to monitor compliance with the CSCE human dimension commitments. Such observation posts, in Yu. Deryabin's opinion, should be an international instrument guaranteeing observance of human rights and liberties.

In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, an exchange of national experience pertaining to the standard application of human rights would make it possible to enrich the practice of each state. To this end the Soviet delegation submitted a proposal to organize a seminar to study such experiences of the CSCE states.

Yu. Deryabin said the Soviet delegation had been put together in a nontraditional manner. The cochairman of the Soviet delegation is S. Kovalev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet's Human Rights Committee and well-known fighter for the observance of these rights. Such a composition will enable the delegation to take an open view of many things, including the true position of citizens in various regions of the country. We are geared up, Yu. Deryabin said, for very active work.

On behalf of the U.S. delegation, its spokesman thanked his Soviet colleagues for the businesslike tone which they had set at this meeting and observed that the Soviet initiatives would be studied in the most constructive manner possible by the representatives of the United States.

Comparison of Yeltsin Speech to CSCE Conference

LD1409171991

Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 0835 GMT on 14 September carries the approximately 2,900-word "text" of Boris Yeltsin's speech to the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension in Moscow on 11 September.

The TASS Russian version has been compared with the Moscow Radio Rossii version published in the 12 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 1, revealing the following variations:

Page 1, column one, paragraph one, sentence one reads: Mosow, 14 Sep (TASS)—Here follows the full text of the speech by B.N. Yeltsin, which he made on 11 September at a meeting with the participants at the CSCE International Conference on the Human Dimension:

Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen!

I am glad to welcome you to the Russian "White House," which has recently become a symbol of the struggle for freedom, democracy, and the civilized path of development. I would like to apologize right away to the representatives of a number of states whose requests for individual meetings we were unable to satisfy. We are counting on your understanding. I think that, in a short while, the situation will give us greater possibilities to meet. I consider our meeting today as logical for the Moscow CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension.

August demonstrated what... (supplying additional opening paragraphs)

Same column, second paragraph, sentence four, reads: ...will influence the life of Russia and... (clearing queried word "life")

Column two, first paragraph, second sentence reads: ...in Russian life. Radical reforms will make them a reality. But for the moment... clearing indistinct words, rewording sentence).

Same column, same paragraph, last sentence, reads: ...Centers of acute tension remain in the... (clearing queried word "tension")

Same column, paragraph three, penultimate sentence, reads: ...should enjoy rights and possibilities in all their entirety. We intend insistently... (providing indistinct words, rephrasing for clarity)

Page 2, column one, first paragraph, last sentence reads: ...peoples to self-determination. The will of any people, expressed in a democratic way, will be recognized by us unconditionally. We confirmed this recently as the first to recognize officially the independence of the three Baltic states.

The issue of holding prisoners in the prisons and camps of our country has become particularly acute. We do not forget that they are criminals. But their punishment is their being deprived of freedom, not behaving toward them in an arbitrary way. The problem of "prisoners of conscience" is particularly painful in our country. These are people who have experienced the full vengeance of the totalitarian system for thinking differently. The last pages of this theme have not yet been closed, but we have the firm intention of removing it from the agenda.

Among the problems which await a solution is the guarantee of freedom of movement. The USSR is one of the few countries where so-called residence permits still remain. Some regions still remain closed for visits as before.

Russia is striving... (adding additional material)

Same column, second paragraph, second sentence, reads: ...to visit Russia. We have adopted laws on foreign investment and guarantees from the state. We hope that our participation in the common European process will become a favorable factor in making human rights and freedoms a reality in our country's public life. We proceed from the basis that the concern of the world community at the violations of human rights in any country is not interference in its internal affairs. The time has come to create a permanent mechanism to control the observation of human rights with the participation of all CSCE countries. We are ready to take an active part in its work. I believe that we will manage, within the context of the pan-European process, to strengthen international procedures for the protection of democratic institutions. For our part, we intend to propose that Russia's Supreme Soviet adopt cardinal new measures to ensure the most important rights and freedoms of all citizens of Russia. In particular, draft laws have been prepared on guarantees of citizens' rights to associate without any preliminary checks, and... (adding additional material, confirming queried word "cardinal"; inserting indistinct word "any")

Same column, paragraph three, sentence four reads ...of legislation and applied legal practice. Work is... (supplying indistinct words)

Same column, last paragraph, sentence two, reads: ...most difficult conditions, its members at the price of their freedom and at times at the price of their own lives, defended the values of democracy. Even at that time they put pressure on the authorities and, what is the main thing, they were awakening society. These groups defending legal rights were a forerunner of that mass... (supplying indistinct words)

Second column, second paragraph, second sentence reads: ...this or that country, about which I am often asked. (deleting queried words "as was the case with Spain")

Same column, same paragraph, antepenultimate sentence reads: ...a new Union. Various options are possible here. The European experience applied in our conditions would help make this process as optimal as possible and avoid mistakes and complications.

Following the acute August events, we became... (confirming queried words, providing indistinct passages)

Same column, paragraph three, sentence two, reads: ...the Communist dogma shackles the individual's activities... (confirming queried word "shackles")

Same column, same paragraph, last sentence, reads: ...practice, to restore to right universal human values, and the whole variety of outlooks, views, and ideas. (supplying words indistinct, rephrasing for clarity)

Same column, paragraph four, last sentence, reads: .. of the West and our East European neighbors that are striving... (providing indistinct words, rephrasing for clarity)

Page 3, column one, paragraph two, first sentence, reads: ...Ladies and gentlemen, from now on the Union, and... (clearing indistinct words)

Same column, same paragraph, penultimate sentence, reads: ...general European affairs. I am certain that the mood of the Russians to embark on the path of democracy, a market economy, and the defense of human rights in accordance with international documents confirms the earnestness of our intentions.

Thank you for your attention. (clearing indistinct word, rephrasing, adding final sentence)

Polish Foreign Minister Comments on CSCE Talks

LD1509022291 Moscow Radio Moscow in Polish
1600 GMT 14 Sep 91

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by correspondent Vasilij Lisovik in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] The Conference on the Human Dimension is deliberating in Moscow. The Polish delegation to the forum is led by Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The minister gave an interview for our program.

[Lisovik] Minister, how does Poland evaluate this Moscow conference?

[Skubiszewski] This is a very significant opportunity for talks, both bilateral or in larger groups. Regarding the CSCE, I would like to draw attention to, to what I judge was germane to the Polish stance in my speech. First, I was concerned about the positions of states that are new participants in this cooperation. I indicated that the Baltic states, that we greet with great satisfaction—I understand that here they take on, as they said in their letters, the obligation, ensuant on participants in the CSCE, precisely in the sphere of human rights, for this is the subject in Moscow, including the protection of national or other minorities. And on this point, regarding the position of states, I also mentioned the fact that in CSCE cooperation there is also or should be a place for the Soviet republics that want to take part in international relations. I judge that this motif was not developed by anyone else. I allude here to what President Yeltsin said today, and very accurately, that the Soviet republics are participants and sovereign entities of international life and international law.

However, it seems to me that another point to which Poland drew attention is linking the need for security to respect for human rights. Where there is no respect for human rights fears arise about maintaining security. Simultaneously, it is necessary to see human rights implemented on a wider perspective, the stabilization of international relations, and the avoidance of conflicts. This is the next matter to which I wished to draw attention.

The case of Yugoslavia shows that the peaceful resolution of conflicts does not look good in Europe, not only in Europe but we here in Moscow are interested in Europe, and that is why in my view there is a need for the development of arbitration connected with conciliation. Here, certain steps should be taken. Anyway, we know that in The Hague the EC states created an arbitration commission for the Yugoslav conflict. I had occasion to speak of this earlier, still before The Hague conference, with the current chairman of the EC—that is the Netherlands—with the prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the Netherlands.

Next, another issue, also a general one, what is to be... what should be stressed in the course of the Moscow deliberations? In the Polish delegation's opinion, stress must be placed not on the formulation of new rights, not on the development of definitions, but on the executive mechanism. The essence of the matter lies here, and this executive mechanism in the CSCE cannot in any case be some substitute, or competition, all the more, in relation to the already existant bodies, whether it is the Council of Europe, or the United Nations. The CSCE: Here the stress must be placed on certain activities, political activities.

And now, I also draw attention to certain detailed issues, which it seems deserve my attention. But the first question is migrations, great population movements that have already taken place, are taking place, and will continue to take place. Here in Moscow the matter should be obvious. Europe, to the west of Moscow, has been constantly speaking, for many months, of the possibility of a great migration from the enormous tracts of the European east, to the west. I have always treated these fears calmly and realistically. Nonetheless, this problem exists in relation to other countries, and here it is necessary to distinguish between the freedom of an individual to travel, which may not be restricted, and the freedom of an individual to settle abroad. This requires the agreement of the country of settlement. This cannot be treated in terms of absolute rights. If someone wishes to move abroad, then he must fulfill certain requirements abroad.

This is why cooperation within the CSCE is needed on illegal immigration because this is a phenomenon which is widespread and which Poland is also encountering, and which causes difficulties in abolishing visas for our citizens. Today our citizens may travel freely in a great majority of European countries, but arranging it required a lot of effort.

[Lisovik] Did you have any separate meetings and consultations with the chairmen of the delegations as well as with the Soviet leaders?

[Skubiszewski] We had discussions with the group of three cooperating countries: Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. I held talks with EC ministers on the recent difficulties in broadening the mandate of the Community and their negotiations with these three countries in particular, especially with Poland. First and foremost, however, I had an opportunity today to exchange views with President Yeltsin. Yesterday I had a brief conversation with President Gorbachev. I also had a very routine conversation with Minister Pankin. Today, I talked with Minister Koziryev. So, I have had many talks.

[Lisovik] Poland is expressing a negative attitude toward the moves made by the Lithuanian leadership which limit the rights of the Polish minority. What is it based on?

[Skubiszewski] What we are witnessing is decisively wrong and should not take place at all. Internal, administrative affairs on the composition of bodies, taking such and such steps toward persons who supported the coup d'etat, well these are matters which are at the Lithuanians' behest, and I will not go into detail on these. As you know, the highest Polish officials, President Walesa included, were against this coup and they expressed this view in many different ways. Thus, there is no problem there.

On the other hand, you have to remember one thing: Everything has to proceed in keeping with the law. The dissolution, however, of self-governing councils as well as managements took place contrary to Lithuanian law. The state cannot begin its normal international functions while infringing on their own essential laws. Both your own and international law have to be respected. Furthermore, I will not go into detail about what these bodies were, and what changes have to be introduced there. This is a matter for Lithuania itself, and this is a matter for the local Poles. The Polish Government does not interfere in this and it will not do so. On the other hand, we believe that taking away any organizations from the Poles makes them powerless. You have to have tools to defend your own interests, and the Poles in Lithuania need that defense.

That is why, in a very friendly spirit I spoke with Minister Saudargas and I put forward a totally concrete proposal, namely that the Lithuanian Supreme Council and the Lithuanian Government should suspend their decisions. This would enable the Poles to put matters into order as it would enable these bodies' functions to remain in line with the interests of the Lithuanian state, as these interests also have to be observed. This is a fundamental duty of every ethnic minority: loyalty toward every state on whose territory the minority lives.

However the police actions, namely appointing the commissars, lead nowhere. So I not only spoke on this issue but also I wrote an official note.

[Lisovik] In its foreign and economic policy, Poland does grant priority to the West. How, then, does Poland intend to develop its contacts with its eastern neighbors when you take into consideration the compound processes that are taking place here?

[Skubiszewski] The fact that we attach ourselves to the West does not mean that we are turning our backs on the East. Nothing of the kind. Poland, as it were, is determined to have close and good relations with the East, on its eastern side. Whatever is created there, be it a new union, or new states—this will be decided by the particular nations. As far as the economic union of particular republics, about which you are asking, well, if such a union is created, then we will have economic relations with this union, just as we have such relations with the USSR today. Only it is difficult to say what kind of relations they will be, because we do not know what kind of union it will be. But they will be international relations. We will not join this union, because we do not belong to the group of nations which are included within the USSR borders.

These may be relations such as those we have, or had, with the Benelux, let's say, when it was establishing an economic union. I'll tell you more—Poland is against creating some sort of another Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, CEMA. This is over now, CEMA has been liquidated, but if there is an economic union of republics, we are going to have relations with it. At the moment we are emphasizing bilateral relations, with the USSR, to the extent to which it pursues economic relations, and with the new subjects of international relations, that is with Russia. We have already initialled an economic treaty with the Ukraine and we have had it for some time now—that's an observation on your omission. That treaty was initialled a long time ago and its sitting there, waiting for the Ukrainian signature the moment the Ukraine can pursue its economic relations. We are ready for all sorts of unions. The same thing applies to Belorussia.

[Lisovik] You mentioned your meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin. What are your impressions?

[Skubiszewski] Well, I spoke briefly to President Gorbachev at the beginning of yesterday's session. President Gorbachev understands very well Poland's position, its attitude to the USSR, its negative attitude to the attempted coup. I think that our obvious support for legality in the USSR is a very good factor in our mutual relations. I have to say that I found President Gorbachev in very good form.

As far as President Yeltsin is concerned, first there was a meeting between President Yeltsin and 28 foreign ministers and others, and there was an opportunity, well, perhaps to take part in a discussion after President

Yeltsin's speech. Well, taking that opportunity I conveyed in public to President Yeltsin best wishes from President Walesa and words of appreciation for everything that he is doing, and I said that these were words not just from the head of the Polish state but also from a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. I said that I thought that these winners would also soon include President Yeltsin because he has rendered great services for peace. That wasn't just a platitude. Maintaining internal peace on such a large territory as the USSR, restoring legality, in which President Yeltsin played a leading role, that's a great contribution to maintaining international peace, because tremors in such a great state as the USSR, in an intercontinental country—I have often said this in various speeches and lectures abroad—these are tremors which affect everyone, so someone who prevents this, who acts in the direction of legality renders enormous services for international relations.

And next I asked how President Yeltsin sees Russia's international role and its relations. Well, this answer is recorded, so perhaps you might be able to get a hold of it. The answer was very interesting. And then, in bilateral talks, I said that we could be happy that last October we signed, in the very same White House, a common declaration, because we are one of the few states who already have such a document that from the outset we have been treating seriously. Today we have to go further and here economic relations are very significant. That is why the treaty Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz signed with Russia recently is important.

UK's Hurd Gives News Conference at CSCE Forum

PM1809091591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 11 Sep 91 Second Edition p 5

[Unidentified correspondent report: "Douglas Hurd's News Conference"]

[Text] British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who is heading his country's delegation to the Moscow meeting of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension, held a news conference 10 September at which he shared his first impressions of the forum's work and his opinions on the processes taking place in the USSR.

In Hurd's words his meetings with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, with A. Rutskoy, vice president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and with USSR Foreign Minister B. Pankin were very substantive.

The British foreign secretary expressed cautious optimism about the intentions of the Soviet Union's sovereign states to elaborate united concepts in the spheres of defense and global questions of foreign policy and economics. At the same time Hurd expressed the concern of Western countries and in particular of Britain regarding possible conflicts between the republics based on territorial claims against each other. In the event that situations arise like that in Yugoslavia, he observed, it is likely that CSCE mechanisms will be brought to bear to settle the conflicts.

Hurd also stressed that Britain will be ready to develop economic and other relations with the independent states comprising the USSR on the indispensable condition that the latter observe all the Soviet Union's currently existing commitments, including those concerning the principles of building a new Europe.

Economic Delegation To Discuss EC Food Aid

LD1909041291 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1312 GMT 17 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels, 17 Sep (TASS)—During the talks that a Soviet delegation, which arrived in the Belgian capital today, is to hold with the European Community leadership, questions linked to the provision of the Soviet Union with emergency food aid are to be discussed. The delegation is headed by Yuriy Luzhkov, deputy chairman of the USSR Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy.

Last week the Soviet Union appealed to the EC for food aid worth 5-6 billion ecus [European currency units] (6-7 billion dollars) to be granted in the next six months.

UNCTAD Report Sees USSR Recession Worsening

PM1809155191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Crisis Still Ahead?"]

[Text] United Nations, 16 Sep—Whatever policy is pursued you can say with almost complete confidence that the economic crisis in the Soviet Union has not yet bottomed out, the annual report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) published here today states. This document provides an overview of the economic situation in the world as a whole and in individual regions and major countries.

Talking about the situation in the USSR, the report's compilers note that the country is dominated by uncertainty linked to its domestic political problems—particularly the changing relations between the central and republic authorities. The prospects mainly depend on the adoption of consistent economic reforms coordinated with all parties to the new Union treaty.

The report cites figures for the first quarter of 1991 alone which unambiguously point to a continuing sharp slump in industrial output in the USSR and a drop in GDP and national income by 8 and 10 percent respectively. Investment in the Soviet economy has fallen off considerably, thereby undermining the country's long-term economic prospects, UN experts believe.

The growing social tension, partially reflected in strikes in basic sectors of the economy, could have an unpredictable impact on future economic development, the report states. It recognizes that it is hard to assess the depth of the recession in the Soviet economy in 1991.

Different figures show that the recession could exceed 11 percent of GDP. Clearly, the first quarter results merely confirm the most pessimistic forecasts, the report notes.

United States & Canada

Secretary Brady Arrives in Moscow for Talks

LD1809195691 Moscow TASS in English 1143 GMT
18 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady arrived in Moscow in the small hours on Wednesday [18 September]. His visit is connected with the implementation of arrangements reached between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and leaders of the Group of Seven industrialised countries at a meeting in London in summer.

British and French finance ministers had earlier visited the USSR for similar purposes.

The programme for Brady's stay in the USSR will be eventful and busy. He is expected to be received by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and head of the country's Committee for Economic Management Ivan Silayev and will possibly have a conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev.

Besides that, the guest will learn about the country's financial situation from heads of banks of the Union and Russia. He will also converse with leaders of new non-state economic structures, for instance with chiefs of the Russian Commodities Exchange. The secretary of the treasury also intends to meet representatives of union republics.

Questions connected with the implementation of the arrangements reached at the meeting with the Group of Seven in London, as well as the West's economic cooperation with the USSR and possibilities of aid to the USSR will be in the focus of Brady's negotiations in Moscow, TASS learned from the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Discusses Economic Aid

LD1809132591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1146 GMT 18 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Viktor Runov]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (TASS)—U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady who arrived in Moscow today on a working visit, met Ivan Silayev, leader of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, this morning. Also taking part in the conversation were Arkadiy Volskiy and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, deputy leaders of the committee.

The U.S. treasury secretary was told about the progress of work in preparing the interrepublican economic agreement. It was noted that the sovereign republics wanted to build relations between each other based on the preservation of a single economic market, which opens up possibilities for stepping up Soviet-American cooperation.

Nicholas Brady expressed the readiness of the American administration to give humanitarian aid to the USSR for the purpose of supporting the democratic reforms in the country and putting the economy onto the market track.

In a conversation with journalists, Ivan Silayev stressed that the Soviet Union hopes to overcome the economic crisis, relying upon its own strength. From the West, he expects help in the form of consultations and also in currency and financial support for the purchase of foodstuffs in the initial stage of the reform in order to get over the most difficult period for the country.

Meets With Silayev

LD1809133991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, has said that the country primarily intends to buy food goods—first and foremost grain, sugar, and vegetable oil. He told this to an INTERFAX correspondent in response to a question at a news conference held after his meeting with U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady in Moscow.

Ivan Silayev emphasized that, at the State Council meeting on 16 September, all its members were in favor of his becoming the permanent representative [as heard] of the inter-republican economic committee. I had no serious grounds to decline, Ivan Silayev said. At the same time, in his view, the combination of this post with the duties of chairman of Russia's Council of Ministers would not be logical. However, Ivan Silayev refused to name a possible successor to the post of head of the Russian Government, or possible candidates to make up the Union Government.

Scowcroft Urges 'Farsighted' Policy Toward USSR

PM1709132591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Sep 91 Single Edition p 4

[TASS report: "U.S. Presidential Aide: 'There Are Three Revolutions Under Way in the Union'"]

[Text] Washington, 12 Sep—Euphoria about the disintegration of the bloc of East European countries and the USSR must not cause the United States to give up an active role in world politics. As Brent Scowcroft, U.S. national security adviser, said when addressing business circles in Detroit, "the world remains a dangerous place" and this requires constant attention on the part of the United States as the sole remaining superpower. The disintegration of the eastern block has ignited a spirit of

nationalism in that part of Europe that has not been observed for many decades. The formation of the new world order will depend in many ways on U.S. policy, which must be "wise and farsighted."

Speaking about the situation in the Soviet Union, Scowcroft said that three revolutions are under way simultaneously—a political one, an economic one, and one connected with the disintegration of the central government. "Any one of these is enough to cause upheavals in any society."

Scowcroft called on the United States not to get involved in the internal struggle in the Soviet Union. "I believe that it is dangerous for us to concentrate on personalities in the given circumstances. We may like some people more than others, but politics does not work that way... We must deal with the situation as we see it."

Gorbachev Meets U.S. Businessman in Moscow

*LD1709220291 Moscow TASS in English
1906 GMT 17 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 17 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today met visiting John Crystal, chairman of the Iowa International Development Fund.

Gorbachev has known Crystal, a prominent U.S. banker and agrarian, for some ten years. They have met many times and been in correspondence with each other for many years.

Worried with the Soviet Union's economic situation, Crystal is in the Soviet Union with serious proposals on organising agricultural production and distribution of products. He has already begun implementing some of projects with partners in Russia and the Ukraine.

Gorbachev and Crystal discussed the rate and content of reforms aimed to overcome the economic crisis.

U.S. Diplomat Received at Foreign Ministry

*LD1809212191 Moscow TASS in English
2111 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Alexey Obukhov received U.S. Acting Charge d'Affaires in the USSR James Collins at the latter's request.

The sides discussed topical issues of bilateral and international relations, including those concerning the Soviet-U.S. interaction in the Middle Eastern settlement.

Northeast Asia

Rogachev: Good Relations With PRC 'Priority'

*LD1809153291 Moscow TASS in English
1523 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vasilii Titov]

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—The development of goodneighbourly and friendly relations with China remains a priority of Soviet foreign policy. This was reaffirmed during a meeting in Moscow between USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and Deputy Foreign Minister of the Chinese People's Republic Tian Zengpei.

Head of the Far Eastern and Indochina Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry Sergey Razov, who took part in the negotiations, told TASS that they were mutually useful and contributed to the perfection of cooperation mechanisms between the two countries in light of the new conditions.

He said the sides devoted particular attention to the progress of talks on frontier issues and the mutual reduction of armed forces in the area of the Soviet-Chinese border.

"The Soviet side," Razov stressed, "reaffirmed its adherence to the joint communiques of 1989 and 1991, signed as a result of Soviet-Chinese summit meetings."

Considering that the Chinese delegation was stopping over in Moscow en route to the Baltic republics, Tian Zengpei informed the Soviet side on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and those countries. In the joint communiques signed in this connection, the Baltic states recognise "the PRC Government as the only lawful government, representing all of China," he said.

Medvedev Agrees To Oct ROK Credits Meeting

*LD1809184791 Moscow TASS in English
1354 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo September 18 TASS—South Korea and the USSR will hold next month negotiations at working level on concrete deadlines and ways to grant the Soviet Union credits, earlier promised it by Seoul. Agreement on this score was reached at today's meeting in Seoul between personal envoy of the USSR President Vadim Medvedev and South Korean Deputy Premier, Minister for Economic Planning Choe Kak-kyu.

South Korea has promised the USSR a credit of three billion U.S. dollars, which was to be granted after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries last September. It has already paid a part of this sum. Korean President No Tae-u assured Medvedev during their Tuesday meeting that Seoul would honour its commitments.

The South Korean Government's firm adherence to the agreed plans for bilateral economic cooperation was reaffirmed today by Choe Kak-kyu. However, as noted by the YONHAP news service, he said South Korean bankers were following the situation in the Soviet Union with anxiety and skepticism. In view of this, he moved to hold negotiations at working level.

Medvedev told the Korean side in detail about the situation in the USSR and about the central government's close cooperation with the republics. He also met today Finance Minister Yi Yong-man and is expected to have a meeting on Thursday with Prime Minister Chong Won-sik.

Visa-Free Travel Allowed From Kuriles to Japan

*LD1809153991 Moscow TASS International
Service in Russian 1055 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vasilii Titov]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (TASS)—Soviet citizens who reside on the four islands of the south Kuriles ridge will be able, apparently, to travel to Japan visa-free starting 1 January. Such an opportunity will also be granted to Japanese citizens who wish to visit these islands. Aleksandr Panov, head of the Pacific Ocean and Southeast Asian countries administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said in an interview with a TASS correspondent today that "an accord in principle" on the possibility of carrying out visa-free group trips has been reached in the course of Soviet-Japanese consultations, which have just ended in Moscow and which also included representatives from the RSFSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. An exchange of relevant notes has taken place.

We are talking at present, continued Aleksandr Panov, only about visa-free group exchanges, since the Soviet side does not yet have the necessary infrastructure on the territory of the Kuriles to organize individual trips in cases like this. However, we have agreed, he added, that the Soviet Union and Japan are to take steps in setting up necessary conditions for individual visits as well, following the study of the first experience of the group travel.

Near East & South Asia

Primakov Passes Gorbachev Message to Rafsanjani

*LD1809151991 Moscow TASS in English
1442 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Ravil Musin]

[Text] Tehran September 18 TASS—Yevgeniy Primakov, a personal representative of the Soviet president, today visited Iranian leader 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani to hand him a personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev and inform the president of recent Soviet developments.

The sides also discussed ways to further the expansion of bilateral economic relations, some regional and international issues.

Primakov told correspondents that Gorbachev's message is warm and friendly. He said the aim of his trip is a comprehensive discussion of the economic cooperation.

Naturally, political issues have been discussed as well, including the situation in the region and throughout the world, and the development of processes in the Soviet Union.

There is no doubt the Soviet Union has played, and will continue to play, an active role on the international scene, stressed the presidential representative.

Touching upon relations with Iran, Primakov noted that Moscow "is ready to cooperate with it, both through specific republics and the union as a whole, as discussed during negotiations in Teheran".

Iran has an enormous economic potential, and this fact is underestimated by those who believe that the cooperation could be limited to border trade only, said Primakov.

Asked about Afghanistan, the representative said that Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati praised the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the termination of arms shipments to Afghan warring sides from January 1, 1992.

Similar sentiments were echoed by the leaders of Saudi Arabia and the United Nations secretary-general, confirmed during recent meetings.

We are now closer than ever to solving the problem, and we want other countries to follow the example of the Soviet-U.S. agreement to bring an end to hostilities in Afghanistan, said Primakov.

The representative today met with Iranian Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance Mohsen Nurbakhsh to discuss specific aspects of the further deepening of bilateral cooperation.

Assesses Talks; Departs

*LD1909102391 Moscow TASS International
Service in Russian 0735 GMT 19 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Ravil Musin]

[Text] Tehran, 19 Sep (TASS)—Yevgeniy Primakov, personal representative of the USSR president, completed his visit to Iran. He presented a message from M.S. Gorbachev to A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and held talks with Iranian officials on questions concerning the development of economic cooperation between the two countries.

In a press statement before his departure, Ye.M. Primakov gave a positive assessment of the talks' results. He noted that the meetings with Hashemi-Rafsanjani

and the ministers of foreign affairs and economy and finance were certainly useful. I have formed the impression that there are good prospects for the development of relations, especially economic relations; we are two neighboring states, and our relations are of great importance, Ye.M. Primakov stressed.

The personal representative of the USSR president, who is making a tour of a number of countries in the region, left today by air for Turkey.

Belonogov Arrives in Tunis for Talks With PLO

*LD1809161691 Moscow TASS in English
1337 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Lagutin]

[Text] Tunis September 18 TASS—Aleksandr Belonogov, Soviet deputy foreign minister, arrived in Tunis today to hold consultations with the PLO leadership. He will also discuss Middle East settlement with Palestinian representatives in the light of the recent Moscow talks on the problem between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and the Soviet Foreign Ministry leadership.

Soviet-Palestinian consultations are being held on the eve of the 20th extraordinary session of the National Council of Palestine which is to open in Algiers September 23.

Urges Israeli Withdrawal

*LD1809213891 Moscow TASS in English
1522 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Lagutin]

[Text] Tunis September 18 TASS—"The purpose of my arrival in Tunis is, figuratively speaking, to read the clock of the Tunisian foreign policy and compare it with the Soviet line," USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov said upon arriving in the Tunisian capital. This is particularly important in contemporary conditions, when not only international developments, but domestic events, too, have become extremely rapid.

"I am pleased to note that the Tunisian Government had assumed a wise stand vis-a-vis the abortive coup d'etat in the Soviet Union and refused to support the putschists. I will have the pleasure to convey some very warm words to the leadership of this country."

"There are concrete problems that we shall have to discuss," Belonogov noted. "They include the promotion of the peace process in the Middle East. Tunisia's stand, as that of the entire Arab Maghreb, will be very weighty in this situation. Tunisia and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, which has its headquarters here, are exerting every effort to make possible a peace conference and to ensure through it the right of Palestinians to self-determination. The subject of a Middle

East peace settlement will dominate my talks with representatives of the Tunisian Government and the PLO leadership," Belonogov noted.

The Soviet Union's traditional policy calls for Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories so that the Palestinian people could exercise their right to self-determination. This has always been and remains the pivot of the Soviet Middle East policy," Belonogov stressed.

Belonogov will today meet chairman of the PLO Executive Committee Yasir 'Arafat.

Meets With 'Arafat

*LD1809212791 Moscow TASS International
Service in Russian 1824 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[by TASS correspondent Vadim Lagutin]

[Text] Tunis, 18 Sep (TASS)—Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Committee, received here today USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov, who had arrived in Tunis to hold consultations with Palestinian and Tunisian leaders on problems relating to a Middle East settlement.

'Arafat commended the results of the meeting, calling it "important and useful". In an interview with a TASS correspondent, he said that the Soviet Union is one of the cochairmen of the peace conference that was being called on the Middle East, so it bears the political, diplomatic and moral responsibility for seeing that it took place.

We regard today's talks as a manifestation of Soviet-Palestinian efforts to activate the Middle East peace process, the Palestinian leader said. He voiced the hope that the peace conference convened at the initiative of the U.S. and USSR Presidents will take account of the rights and aspirations of all the interested sides. "The Palestinians are not asking for the impossible. We are only calling for the implementation of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 on the Middle East," 'Arafat stressed.

Answering a question from Soviet journalists about the Palestinians' attitude toward the possible restoration of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel, he said that the topic was not broached during the conversation. At the same time, he expressed the hope that the restoration of Soviet-Israeli relations will coincide with the establishment of direct ties between the PLO and the United States.

Envoy to Israel on Prospects for Formal Relations

*OW1809183991 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Israel's general consul in the Soviet Union, Arie Levin, has said that the restoration of full-scale diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel depends on the Soviet Government. Speaking in an interview with "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] Levin quoted the Soviet ambassador to the UN Yuliy Vorontsov as saying that Moscow is going to restore diplomatic relations with Israel in full several days before the opening of a peace conference on the Middle East. The Israeli general consul believes that the settlement of this question may be "a matter of weeks".

The Israeli diplomat said he could not name the exact date of the conference, saying that it was due sometime next month. About the hurdles in the way of the peace conference, he said that some details concerning the representation of the Palestinians at the conference were still to be cleared up. Levin said he hoped that a solution was round the corner and very soon there would be no obstacles at all. He recalled that Israel had responded favourably to the requests from the United States and the Soviet Union to agree to the peace conference and put no obstructions in its way.

About the current state of Soviet-Israeli economic relations and trade Levin said that they were on the ascent. "Probably, they are not growing as fast as we would like them to", he added. "This is due to many problems, for instance the lack of information about the Soviet market." The diplomat said many Israeli businessmen wanted to do business with their Soviet counterparts, but so far had been unable to get over an inconvertible rouble.

"All this is not so simple", Levin said. "After a long period when the USSR and Israel had no contacts in the economy it will take quite sometime to restore cooperation. [no closing quotation mark as received] However, on the other hand, some joint projects are already in the making. Levin welcomed the rise of bilateral trade over the level of 1967, the year when the Soviet Union and Israel severed diplomatic relations. However, he said one must bear in mind that the volume of trade is estimated in dollars, a currency whose value has noticeably reduced over the past quarter of a century.

The Israeli consul said he was certain that trade and economic ties between the two countries would be developing much faster. He pins great hopes on the visit a delegation of Israel's leading industrialists and bankers to the Soviet Union beginning on the 9th of next month.

Envoy on Mideast Peace Conference, Algeria Ties *LD1809154191*

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1030 GMT on 18 September carries a three-minute report from Algiers by Anatoliy Bolgarev on Algeria's reassessment of its values now that its place in international relations can no longer be conditioned by the existence of a system of two confronting military and political blocs.

Bolgarev says that the first news conference of Aleksandr Aksenenko, the new Soviet ambassador to Algeria, aroused great interest in Algiers. About 40 Algerian and foreign journalists spent over two hours at the Soviet

Embassy finding out the position of the Soviet Union on various international questions. He states: "One question was this: Can the Soviet Union, despite its present domestic difficulties, use its weight in the international arena to hinder the United States from removing the PLO from participation in the international conference on the Near East? Can it hinder Israel from imposing its own plan for a settlement?"

Aksenenko is then heard to say: "The very word hinder smacks of the previous approaches to the problem of an Arab-Israeli settlement. Now the main thing, I think, is not to hinder. The main thing is that all the sides involved, be it the United States or the Soviet Union, should help the start of the peace process. The task of the great powers in this matter is to give help to the parties directly involved. We have no right to think up a solution for the parties involved, for now the question of a Near East settlement has moved from the phase of propaganda politics to the phase of realpolitik."

The correspondent says the ambassador went on to describe the situation in the USSR after the coup attempt, asserting that there should be no anxiety about the continuity of the USSR's foreign policy or the USSR's adherence to its international obligations. On Soviet-Algerian relations the ambassador states: "Our relations, despite the stormy processes of transformation of society taking place both in the Soviet Union and in Algeria, can be described as relations of extraordinary good will, friendly, as before, and possessing considerable reserves for future development."

Sub-Saharan Africa

Resumption of Ties With South Africa Urged

*PM1809102591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7*

[Article by B. Pilyatskin: "It Is Not Sanctions That Are Needed But Diplomatic Relations With the RSA"]

[Text] Our newspaper recently reported that food and medical supplies had been delivered to Moscow from Capetown. But what about the observance of sanctions? After all, in accordance with the official line of many years, any transport, commercial, cultural, scientific, and other links between the Soviet Union and the "apartheid state"—the Republic of South Africa [RSA]—are forbidden. It is true that the freight that arrived was a gift from several South African firms. And inasmuch as they were thanked for it, the result is that we can receive something as a gift but not for money.

An individual case, but behind it lies a problem: In the future, will we adhere to obsolete dogmas or will we make a resolute turn to set up and develop all-around mutually advantageous ties with Africa's superpower—the RSA? The main barrier on this path are the sanctions once recommended by the United Nations. It was a favorite hobby-horse of our propaganda. Without any economic interests in the RSA and essentially with

nothing to lose, we could easily demonstrate angry denunciation of racial discrimination at the other end of the world and present ourselves as the champions of the peoples' friendship and equality.

Lip service to the sanctions was facilitated by the fact that the RSA was indeed an authoritarian state which was boycotted both by the Third World countries and the Western democracies.

But in the past 18 months the situation has changed radically. In accordance with President Frederik de Klerk's reformist course, the dismantling of the system of apartheid has begun. Over 100 legislative acts which discriminated against people on the basis of their skin color have been repealed which, of course, does not mean the automatic equalization of the economic position of different racial groups. That could take years. But the main thing is that apartheid in the RSA is now at the stage of abolition and the changes taking place there are irreversible. That is the opinion of U.S. President G. Bush, of M. Thatcher, and other very important politicians of the present day.

It was Africa itself which was once the initiator of sanctions, which reacted most promptly to what is taking place in the RSA. According to information from the South African "SAFTO" foreign economic agency, the RSA's trade with other countries of the continent rose 40 percent last year, comprising \$2.1 billion in monetary terms. The RSA has particularly close economic ties with the neighboring "frontline" states which our propaganda invariably described as the "vanguard" of independent Africa. It is true that we had to do some quick talking to explain why this "vanguard" was trading so strenuously with the "citadel of apartheid." The following explanation was given: The countries neighboring on the RSA had nowhere to go, it was an enforced step "at gunpoint." But today, when the military confrontation in the south of the continent has receded into the past? It turns out that the "Frontline" States not only did not hasten to free themselves from the South African "embrace," but, guided by national interests and common sense, they considerably expanded their political and economic ties with the RSA (in Mozambique alone over 60 South African companies are now operating).

As for economic ties with the West, they were essentially never broken off. There are 1,276 foreign companies—U.S. and Swiss, British and Belgian, Italian and French—registered in South Africa. Some 48 percent of the coal consumed by Italian heat and electric power stations comes from the RSA while Japan purchases from the RSA nearly half the rare-earth elements essential for the metallurgical and electronics industry. We could go on and on with examples.

The repeal of the ban on new investments in the South African economy announced by the United States, the Common Market members, and many other countries will undoubtedly benefit the RSA's African population. After all, financial losses as a result of the sanctions resulted in mass unemployment among blacks, the curtailment of housing construction programs, and the

reduction of subsidies for social needs. It is notable that, according to a sociological poll conducted by the liberal newspaper THE STAR, over two-thirds of Africans are in favor of repealing economic sanctions.

The advantages of cooperation with a country with the economic potential of the RSA (comprising just 6.5 percent of the African population, it provides 40 percent of Africa's industrial production) are undisputed for us too, particularly now that we are experiencing an acute shortage of food and everything else. Grain and meat, vegetables and fruit, mining equipment, medical supplies, clothing and shoes—all this and much else could be acquired at prices no higher and perhaps lower than those we are paying our foreign partners. Alas, in our country ideological postulates have always meant more than the interests of "the ordinary Soviet man" who, incidentally, has never been asked by anyone whether he agrees to this "principled stand" in his name.

Indeed, how could it be otherwise if sanctions in our country were "managed" on Staraya square, for whom the natural partner in dialogue was the African National Congress [ANC] and its ally—the South African Communist Party. It was believed in Moscow that as a result of the "national liberation struggle" under their leadership, the "racist regime" was on the point of being swept away; that the construction of a bright future would begin for the South African working people, following the example of the motherland of October. For the sake of "fraternal friendship," free aid was given for years to the ANC and the communist party, including aid in the form of weapons. The dimensions of this aid to this day remain unknown to the Soviet taxpayer and the aid itself is outside the control of legislative structures and consequently without public objective discussion of its expediency and necessity.

Until recently the lobbyists from the Central Committee under the "roof" of its appendage—the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With the Countries of Asia and Africa—publicly defended this policy and demanded its continuation. Their cunning delaying formula, "we shall wait for irreversible changes and then we shall repeal sanctions against the RSA," in fact reflects the viewpoint of the ANC, which sees the ultimate goal of the dismantling of apartheid only in changing the authorities and substituting itself for them. Thank God, both the Central Committee and its lobbyists have now lost their power and you truly have to be blind not to see the real situation with regard to the RSA, which requires a suitable foreign response.

The peoples of South Africa and our country have never been in conflict. On the contrary, twice history has brought them close together. At the start of the century, when the British-Boer war was in progress, Russian public opinion was ardently on the side of the Boers. Many volunteers went to help them and shed their blood on South African soil. The grateful memory of this is alive in South Africa. During World War II we were on the same sides of the barricades in the fight against

fascism. Then a long period of ideological hostility ensued. I would hope that it is inexorably coming to an end and that the changes taking place both in our country and in the RSA serve as a guarantee of that.

East Europe

Foreign Ministry Comments on Yugoslav Conflict

Says Arms Supplies Halted

LD1909083991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0745 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—A TASS diplomatic correspondent has been told at the USSR Foreign Ministry that J. Ramaker, minister plenipotentiary at the Embassy of the Netherlands, was invited to the Ministry's CSCE directorate on 18 September. Since 1 July of this year, the Netherlands has held the presidency of the bodies of the European Community.

In connection with the appeal from the European Community that the USSR should join in the embargo on supplies of arms and munitions to Yugoslavia, the following statement was made to the minister plenipotentiary:

"It is known that a number of countries have placed an embargo on supplies of armaments and military equipment to Yugoslavia. Although it has not formally joined in this, the Soviet Union has practically stopped sending special supplies to that country. We proceed from the fact that the sending of armaments into Yugoslavia will aggravate even further the situation in the country, in the Balkans, and on the continent as a whole. Given this understanding, the Soviet side welcomes the initiative of the "Twelve".

Cautious on Peacekeeping Force

OW1809164491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The question of sending an international peace keeping force to Yugoslavia will be brought up at the third round of the peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague on September 19.

A senior USSR Foreign Ministry official has described the current situation in Yugoslavia as very delicate. He said that the question of sending or not sending an international peace-keeping force to that country would depend on whether the cease-fire agreement comes into effect on September 18 and if yes, whether it lasts. The cease-fire agreement was signed by the presidents of Serbia and Croatia and the Yugoslav federal defence minister.

The Soviet diplomat recalled that Serbia and the Yugoslav Army are emphatically against the sending of an international force to the country. The Yugoslav Army

command has warned that it will launch combat operations against such forces. The diplomat said that the sending of an international force may lead to "serious bloodshed", bearing in mind that the Yugoslav Army has sophisticated heavy military equipment.

The diplomat said the USSR Foreign Ministry was currently formulating its attitude to that question. The diplomat also expressed his own point of view based on his experience of work in Yugoslavia. He doubted the expediency of sending an international force to that country because the Serbs and Croats were in effect waging guerilla warfare. However, we are aware that all conceivable means have been employed already with no effect and the sending of an international force to Yugoslavia does seem to be the last resort.

West Europe

Primakov Arrives in Turkey 19 Sep

LD1909150191 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT
19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Litvinenko]

[Text] Ankara September 19 TASS—The Soviet president's personal envoy Yevgeniy Primakov arrived here today on an official visit.

"The arrival of the Soviet president's personal envoy will boost the development of Soviet-Turkish relations and make a contribution to our dialogue and mutual understanding. You will meet understanding and friendship on our part," Turkish Finance and Customs Minister Adnan Kahveci told Primakov in Ankara's airport.

Primakov is planning to meet Turkey's National Assembly Speaker Kaya Erdem, Deputy Prime Minister Ekrem Pakdemirli and Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz. The Soviet envoy is expected to inform the Turkish leadership about events in the Soviet Union and discuss prospects for the development of Soviet-Turkish political and economic relations.

The sides are also expected to discuss international and regional issues. Primakov will attend a meeting of the Turkish-Soviet Committee for Business Cooperation.

Pankin's Stockholm News Conference Reported

LD1809172291 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1605 GMT 18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Gorokhov]

[Text] Stockholm, 18 Sep (TASS)— The endurance of the President of the USSR, the courage and initiative of the Russian President, the vigorous actions of the people, and the powerful solidarity of the surrounding world made it possible to crush the coup d'etat and smash the braking mechanisms that were hampering the transformation of the country into a law-governed state.

This was stated today at a news conference in Stockholm by the USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin. He is in the Swedish capital on a working visit.

Today the Soviet Minister also had talks with Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson, the Swedish Foreign Minister, and was received by Thage Peterson, and was received by Thage Peterson, the speaker of the Riksdag. In the evening there will be a meeting with Ingvar Carlsson, the head of the Swedish government. On completion of his stay in Stockholm, Pankin will set out for UN headquarters in New York, and then he will visit Prague.

Speaking to journalists, he said that on the day before his trip he had a talk with President Gorbachev and took part in a session of the State Council. He sees the task of his first visit abroad in his new capacity as being to "bring to the world's notice what our country is today."

To a known degree under the influence of the putsch, the Minister pointed out, a fairly centrifugal movement has developed in the Union, and in the period from 22 August to 9 September inclusive, eight republics declared their independence. This was a reaction to the threat presented by the coup, which set itself the goal of restoring totalitarian society.

The Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies "responded to the summons of the times and established a structure for the transitional period when the republics, expressing themselves in the words of Russian President Yeltsin, have received as much sovereignty as they are capable of mastering." The Minister expressed disagreement with those abroad who believe that the Soviet Union is falling apart. In his opinion, nothing like that has happened. "When the element of coercion disappeared in our lives, the sovereign republics received the opportunity to take their bearings, the centripetal movement was born and is gradually growing," he noted. Evidence of this is the energetic activity of the State Council which is working under the chairmanship of the country's President Gorbachev and consists of the presidents of the republics. The first decision of this council was the recognition of the independence of the three Baltic republics which, paradoxical as it may seem, also promoted the intensification of the centripetal movement of the remaining republics. Already, at the second sitting, the day before yesterday the plan for the economic union was adopted in principle. Each republic can become a party to it, including the Baltic republics.

Measures have been worked out relating to the extremely critical difficulties in the sphere of supplies of all necessities—foodstuffs, medicaments—in the winter-spring forthcoming period. The Inter-Republican Economic Committee is operating. All-union bodies of management are also functioning in the four most important spheres: foreign policy, defense, law and order, and security.

"The Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies and the State Council," the Minister stressed, "have answered the world's questions which are of concern to all, with whom business has to be done on what account,

in whose hands are the nuclear weapons, and who is responsible for fulfillment of international obligations. You know these replies, they are constructive and put the world community in a positive frame of mind."

In conditions when a dynamic balance is noted between the centre and the republics, movement is going in the right direction, B. Pankin continued. We are, with new strength, turning our gaze to the international community in the hope that it will give us every necessary assistance, so this transition period may pass normally and our country may be transformed into a normal member of the world community. One of my missions is to say this, including in this auditorium.

I am glad, B. Pankin noted in conclusion, that Sweden is the first country in my mission's fulfilment. I hope that in the wake of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Stockholm in June, in the wake of the meetings of the Presidents of the Union and of Russia with the Foreign Ministers of the Nordic countries, this visit too will help strengthen and develop good relations between our countries in these new conditions.

Official Dismisses Territory Dispute With Finland

OW1809184391 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 18 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Won't the USSR State Council's decision to recognize the independence of the 3 Baltic republics prompt Finland to demand that the USSR return to it the territories it lost under the 1940 agreement? DP's correspondent addressed this question to a prominent member of the USSR foreign ministry's 2nd European department.

It's essential to see the difference between stands taken by some Finnish citizens or public organizations and Finland's government, the diplomat said. Several Finnish parties representing the interests of resettled people raise the question of revising the border from time to time, he conceded. The diplomat referred to the inquiry of an MP representing the Finnish peasants' party who urged the government to start talks with the USSR on returning "the lost territories".

The inquiry was answered by Finland's foreign minister who said: his government views the territorial issue in relations with the USSR as settled once and for all, which has been reflected in corresponding international documents.

The Soviet diplomat cited the opinion of his Finnish colleagues whose essence is that Finland simply doesn't need the "lost territories". In terms of territory Finland is one of Europe's biggest countries, while its population is not too big. Finland has enough land in per-capita terms, and so the "lost territories" would have remained undeveloped even if they had been returned to Finland.

According to the USSR foreign ministry spokesman, this is not a territorial, but an emotional issue, which in the new circumstances can easily be resolved. Great openness which has become a reality in the USSR and the ease visas are granted with make it possible for those who used to live in the "lost territories" to pay visits to their native localities and to the graves of their ancestors.

The development of Soviet-Finnish cooperation and the establishment of joint ventures are also conducive to this. There are plans to create free economic zones in localities adjoining the two countries' border and build joint hotels and motels.

So, the spokesman concluded, there are virtually no serious problems in the political, economic or humanitarian areas. Only a few consular issues remain to be settled. This relates to the granting of visas, for instance. The visa regime continues to exist, though, according to the spokesman, the Soviet side has suggested to Finland that it should be abolished, and that the procedure of border crossing should be simplified. So far the Finns have evaded solution to this issue, the spokesman said. And it's easy to understand them: there are 5 millions of them against 300 millions of Soviet people. Nevertheless plans to open new check points on the Soviet-Finnish border are under discussion. The USSR foreign ministry gives full support to this idea. The sticking point is a lack of funds, but hopefully it will be resolved in the long run, said the spokesman.

German Envoy, Kozyrev Discuss Yeltsin Bonn Visit
LD1909144991 Hamburg DPA in German 1207 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Klaus Blech, German ambassador in Moscow, had a meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on Thursday. During the talk they discussed, among other things, the preparations for Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Bonn on 21 and 22 November, the embassy confirmed in response to a question.

Italian Defense Minister Comments on Moscow Talks
LD1909042691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1722 GMT 17 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 17 Sep (TASS)—"I am profoundly convinced that the new situation which has emerged in the world has led to an understanding of the need for cooperation between countries, and also between the military circles of these countries," stated Italian Defense Minister Virginio Rognioni in an interview for a TASS correspondent, after today's meeting with members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Defense and State Security. The head of the Italian Defense Ministry is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR minister of defense. [passage omitted]

The Italian minister of defense laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin wall.

On Wednesday, the Italian minister of defense sets off on a trip through the Soviet Union, during which he will visit St. Petersburg and the Black Sea naval base in Sebastopol.

Soviet Military Inspectors Arrive in France

PM1909124191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 91 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "On Carrying Out Inspection on French Territory"]

[Text] In accordance with the provisions of the 1990 Vienna document of the talks on confidence-building and security measures in Europe, on 16 September 1991 the Soviet side made a request to France to carry out an inspection of military activity on its territory.

After receiving a positive reply to the request, a group of Soviet military inspectors arrived in France 18 September and embarked on inspection of military activity in the stated region.

Ambassador to Ireland Returns to Dublin

LD1809221391 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 2140 GMT 18 Sep 91

[By Chris Parkin]

[Text] The Soviet Union's ambassador to the Irish Republic, thought to have been in trouble for appearing to support the failed bid to topple President Gorbachev, appeared in Dublin tonight. Dr Guerman Gventsadze, recalled to Moscow for "consultations" after Mr Gorbachev's restoration, was at the opening of an exhibition of Kremlin gold. He was thought to have returned to Dublin unannounced in the past few days.

Two days after the start of the Moscow coup, Dr Gventsadze said in an Irish Radio interview that the development had been in line with the Soviet Constitution. Later he declared his comments had been made on the orders of the coup leaders, and said he had "hated" the attempt to overthrow Mr Gorbachev.

The Soviet ambassador to Britain, Leonid Zamyatin, also recalled for consultations, is being replaced.

Ambassador to France Returns to Post

LD1809213591 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 0600 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] The Soviet ambassador to Paris has returned to his post. He was recalled for consultations, as were several of his colleagues, after the attempted coup. During the coup the attitude of the diplomat was considered to have been ambiguous.

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Editors Discuss Prospects for Future

LD1809190191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Interview with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev by IZVESTIYA Chief Editor Igor Golembiovskiy; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Chief Editor Vladislav Fronin; MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Chief Editor Len Karpinskiy; TRUD Chief Editor Aleksandr Potapov; TASS General Director Vitaliy Ignatenko; CHAS PIK Editor Natalya Chaplina; and Yegor Yakovlev, chairman of the All-Union State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, in Moscow on 17 September; from the "Chief Editors' Club" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Golembiovskiy] Mikhail Sergeyevich, on behalf of the editors in chief who represent a single print run—just a single print run of approximately—I counted it—more than 42 million—I want to thank you for agreeing to participate in our work. We all know the old traditions when you invited the editors in chief. I was never there, but I know in great detail about these meetings, and I know that they were useful and interesting. The times are changing: The editors in chief are now inviting the president! Thank you, once again. Maybe you have some questions for the editors in chief!

[Gorbachev, laughing] Yes, if I am going to be in this role, then I'll do it properly. In fact, I, on the whole, reacted with interest to this meeting. My position, my attitude toward the press is known to you. This position does not change even when I am displeased with the press because without the press, without its huge, unique role, everything that has happened over these years, everything which has been done by others, none of this would have happened. In general, I would like to ask: What is life like for editors? How are the newspapers faring? Probably, a second question: What are they writing? What letters are coming in? What are people concerned with? I would like you, pondering these letters—evidently, you do this all the time—to tell me, as the country's president, what I should bear in mind.

[Fronin] We are all concerned very much, I think, by what concerns all readers and the whole country: What will happen tomorrow? What will happen in two days' time? That concerns every family, including every one of our readers and every journalist. It is very important for everyone to know what will happen in Tajikistan, what will happen in the Baltic states, what will happen in Moldova. What will happen to the economic union, first and foremost, the first stage? However, if there is an economic union, we, as the team of journalists at KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, are concerned with the question of what will happen to the information space? [passage omitted]

The creation of an information union and the possibility of creating an information space for all our readers living in all the republics is very important for us today.

[Golembiovskiy] The problem of the information space is today a problem of democracy, and if Mr. Gamsakhurdia stops the central newspapers from being published and pulls the plug on the first and second Central Television channels, then he is simply violating basic individual rights. [passage omitted]

[Karpinskiy] The issue of the survival of society is being raised, and the survival of newspapers will also depend on this. Here is what I want to say to you, Mikhail Sergeyevich: We also get a lot of letters, and we don't deal with them very properly—we publish few of them or hardly any. We will fix that. However, you will remember that throughout the previous years you have said, all the time, in all meetings, in the localities and at conferences, that the people support us and that the policy is right. You say that now. I want to inform you, with alarm, that, through delays and procrastination, we have reached a state in which the policy itself is placed in doubt in the people's consciousness. [passage omitted]

[Potapov] [passage omitted] Many warnings are being voiced over future inflammations and, perhaps, social upheavals connected with the indeterminate nature of the social perspective and people's social future. I would like to recall this and to see that we give it some thought here, as it were, today and henceforth.

[Gorbachev] Yes, well, I perceive from this brief exchange that, in point of fact, all this can be reduced to one question: What will happen to us tomorrow? What should we be doing today to ensure that this will be more acceptable to us tomorrow and that it will be accompanied by positive changes, first and foremost in living conditions, but also that it will consolidate everything which we have achieved within the framework of democracy and glasnost? I think that is the central question for all of us, for all who live in this country. We have come a long way in our changes, and we have approached what may be the most decisive weeks and months. The fact that the putsch failed—I must say—shows that the putschists understood that we had come to real changes and that, as far as the federation is concerned, the conversion of our multinational state into a union of sovereign states—already with big changes toward realizing sovereignties, the transfer of powers to the republics, and, thereby, responsibility, too—is in accord with people's wishes. It is such an important question—the regeneration of all the nations and peoples living in this land—that, if it is not resolved, then it is hard to count on the success of the transformations, in general, and on the fact that the stabilization process and the processes connected with achieving the reform goals will get under way in our country. Therefore, we must resume this process quickly. Yesterday's session of the State Council revealed the fact that everyone has the desire. Then came the joint statement, where it states that the problem of the move toward a union of sovereign states, with which we link a great deal, has been placed at the forefront. Yesterday, we went back once again to this issue. All the comrades are very concerned. The opinion was voiced by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and Nursultan Abishevich

Nazarbayev, in particular, that if two republics are ready to sign the treaty, then they should sign it. Just as we said: Sign the treaty on the basis of what has already been worked out and of certain adjustments, which we consider necessary to introduce after the 21st, after everything that has happened. However, we must move on.

I think we will make progress on this within the remaining days of September, these last two weeks. I must say that I am very inspired, in this sense, by the position of the Russian leadership and the responsibility of the president and all Russians for preserving the Union. They not only have declared this but also have taken many real steps.

The first reading of the draft economic treaty has taken place. What is interesting is that—I'll tell you now—15 republics actually participated at the stage when that draft was being drawn up, including the Baltics, which are independent now. This is because an economic space has developed. It is an objective reality. Do you think you can treat that as, you know, some kind of simple thing and throw it away? No, you can't. If we do not understand that we are in the power of these realities and do not consider that fact, we might do much more than lead our economy to the healthy, wide path of free development: It will simply be a disaster. We must consider these realities: The whole economy is tied together, and our integration level is higher than the EC's level. Therefore, this treaty is geared completely toward stimulating market relations and enterprise to open wide opportunities for the peasant and for the entrepreneur in the city, to stimulate a quest and initiative, and to remove barriers. We discussed this yesterday, too, because many republics have now set up their own barriers in this economic space, and that hampers the normal functioning of our economy and complicates it. Therefore, I believe—and this is the answer to your question—that, if we reach the signing of the economic treaty as early as the end of this month, that will open opportunities for normal cooperation by all our production collectives, regions, and republics.

[Golembiovskiy] Mikhail Sergeyevich, you know, I was somewhat—I don't want to say frightened—perhaps, put on my guard by the appearance of the familiar wording: to adopt as a basis. I know the program comprises eleven sections. We printed it today, but that wording—to adopt as a basis—might lead to nothing of it remaining beyond an unknown basis.

[Gorbachev] You know, I must say that an alternative to this draft treaty was proposed. This is a draft convention which was developed by Academician Shatalin and his group of scholars. Nevertheless, after an exchange of opinions, the choice settled on the draft developed by the Yavlinskiy group, and, on the basis of this draft, a plenipotentiary delegation from every republic will tomorrow—the day after tomorrow—join. Experts are working. This will then be presented to the leaders of the union governments and presented again to the State Council and for signing. It will go to the Supreme Soviet.

However, Yavlinskiy said directly that if these principles laid out in the economic agreement are begun to be dismantled, then our economy in this area will not have the mechanisms which will allow it to advance. These are calculations. Incidentally, they were so confident that they offered their draft for expert evaluation to many foreign centers—I am not saying that they did not offer it here, inside the country, for expert evaluation—and this draft has now received support.

[Potapov] Agreement already gives some social guarantees in this sense.

[Gorbachev] Yes, because what is intended within the framework of this draft allows us to hope that we will conduct, with fewer losses, both structural policy...[changes thought] This is structural restructuring, because, alongside this, those branches of industry where a huge mass of people can be employed will be stimulated. Indeed, who among you does not know how difficult it is to repair a house, an apartment, a television, a car? After all, these are spheres where it is possible to employ an awful lot of people. For this, the economic treaty envisages major stimuli to move, and the first section, if you have noticed, is called entrepreneurship. Economic achievement affords the freedom to remove everything which restrains people's economic initiative in the factory, in trade, at the works, in the scientific-investigative institution, and so on.

[Chaplina] Mikhail Sergeyevich, how will this single economic area fit in with the ever-new territorial claims, which are appearing every day, by some republics on others. Estonia announced claims on part of our Leningrad oblast. What will happen here? It's as if we are putting this to one side and are beginning to work on the economy without paying attention to all the issues linked to territory and geography.

[Gorbachev] You know, I go along with what you are saying very much. For example, I am not a supporter of the claim—although some of these supporters are sitting here at this table...[interrupted by indistinct mumbling] Yegor Vladimirovich is smiling! You know, people have been discussing what lies ahead. The economic union should be concluded as quickly as possible, and it will unite all of us. Yes, the economy is a serious and vital thing, so everything must be done. Undoubtedly, the economic space will work for everything and exert an influence. However, I must say that the economy also needs clarity in regard to everything concerning the Union treaty. Therefore, both one and the other must be done simultaneously. If questions of the Union treaty are cleared up and solved more quickly, and it is signed, and the circle of participants in the treaty becomes wider, then at the same time these anxieties regarding what should be done about the territories, about ownership, and so forth will be lifted since the principle of the Union treaty—one of the inviolable and rigid principles—is recognition of territorial realities and the inviolability of borders.

You know, if we are drawn into reviewing this division of borders, then I must say that we will bring about such a situation which even the most talented journalist with a rich imagination could not have predicted. However, what should be done when a republic does not wish to enter the new union, especially when—like the Baltics—they do not support it? We set up three commissions of state delegations to hold talks. If you noticed, it is written in the State Council decision: The whole complex should be discussed at these bilateral meetings—economic; political; what to do about citizens' rights; and, in general, the position of people with social guarantees, with citizens' guarantees; what to do about border questions, communications, military questions...

[Chaplina, interrupting] Information.

[Gorbachev] And information. All these questions must be studied. There are solutions. It is possible to review cooperation in the sphere of defense; there are international standards for solving the question of the use of general communications. Pipelines go to the West: Will they affect this? There are ports which we use, which we cannot live without. We must agree on all this and work together.

Of course, in the first place, the people who live there must feel secure, the nonnative people—well, they are native but not of the native nation or ethnic group. They must have reliable guarantees—more guarantees than now even—for they find themselves outside the Union borders. They must feel secure.

[Ignatenko] I sat in the TASS office until nighttime yesterday, something that has never happened before. Everyone has always disliked official pronouncements and not wanted anything to do with them. That is our old ailment, so to speak. Indeed, we used to frighten everyone with official pronouncements. However, yesterday there was a storm of telephone calls from Armenia, the whole of the Baltic region, a number of Russian Federation oblasts, and Maritime Kray. Everyone is demanding that we transmit the economic agreement as soon as possible. Things seem to have dispersed and spread. I gather from this is not that everyone wants to know what things will be like for us tomorrow but that people very much want some sort of positive movement. They want things to move in some way and some decisions so that that things should be done more quickly.

[Gorbachev] People are now waiting for something to be done. To some extent, you know, they were virtually ready to accept anything, even very harsh measures, as long as there was some movement. This is really so, unfortunately, because it is necessary to move forward the positive changes. We will then be able to count on people to give us powerful support again. Today, they look for what will happen next. We should not waste time now; we have no right to; we must act.

[Karpinskiy] Democracy triumphed by its promissory note—that is how I would put it.

[Gorbachev] The Army did not act against its own people. It did not act against them, and I think that this was a very great achievement. Those who were 13-15 years old in 1985 and who are now 18-20 stood up in defense. In general, it was the democrats, too, who of late began to unite. This was particularly on the basis of the Novo-Ogarevo process. They began to make the transition and not to heed some of the nuances.

[Potapov] This question may be a little uncomfortable for you: We are discussing cadres, about those places where renewal gets bogged down, and so on. However, here is a question about the president's entourage. My mailbox contains many questions on this subject. What did we see during these events? The White House was surrounded by tanks, as was Yeltsin and Yeltsin's entourage, reliable people who stood up and stayed to the end. However, your entourage—you had an entourage of people who were not overburdened by spiritual potential or conscience. Here, much harsher expressions would be appropriate. How do you intend to resolve this question? By bringing back those people who moved away, who were squeezed out by those aggressive mediocrities, by these adventurers? Or by seeking out new people? I think this is no idle question. It is a question which should...[changes thought] It is a question of confidence, a question not just of trust but a question of confidence.

[Gorbachev] You know, as far as my feelings about what occurred are concerned, all this, of course, contains an important lesson for me, both in the sense of the tactics of conducting and implementing policy and taking political steps and, particularly, concerning personnel policy—the selection, promotion, and use of new personnel. For me, the betrayal of people whom I trusted and whom I promoted is, of course, the greatest drama. Of course, I was supported by the Supreme Soviet, and all the democratic procedures were observed. They were not just my personal appointments. Nevertheless, this is one of the most important problems. It seems to me that the processes of renewing personnel will proceed more rapidly now, given that the times themselves have thrown up these new people.

[Yakovlev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, much is changing except for one thing. Many of the people seated at this table are August appointees. Igor has become IZVESTIYA editor, Len has been made editor of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, Vitaliy has been made head of TASS.

[Ignatenko] And the speaker himself?

[Yakovlev] Yes, it applies to the speaker himself, as well as to Foreign Minister Boris Pankin. This is all the '60s generation, men of the '60s. Forgive me, but they are the departing generation. As for the young people...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Let's not talk in those terms...

[Yakovlev, interrupting] I'm just speaking for myself, then!

[Gorbachev] We took a big mouthful at the 20th Congress.

[Yakovlev] What will be done? I consider perestroika's worst problem to be that it has not yet thrust forward a new, younger generation to run the country.

[Chaplina] Who can we put forward today whom people will trust?

[Gorbachev] The way the issue is being put may be rather pointed, but it is a perfectly proper and just way of putting it. I see no other way of continuing to develop the democratic processes, and this includes democratic processes in the economy. If there is a restructuring of relations inside the collective and state farms themselves, if new farm-holdings or other forms of organizing work in the countryside emerge...

[Yakovlev, interrupting] And young people will become active...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Then new personnel and new people will appear.

The very same will apply in the fields of trade, production, and science—science, too. Therefore, I see no other way than to advance the transformation process.

[Karpinskiy] It is one thing to say that democracy is a school, of course, and enables people to be brought to light, but they still must be noticed, those people, specifically, and not others.

[Gorbachev] That's right.

[Karpinskiy] You have recently noticed those cadres who had an impeccable party career, according to their party record. The people we had absorbed the system totally, and the system corroded their souls totally. That should have been obvious.

[Gorbachev] The most interesting thing is that I want to use your critical comment to show myself in a good light. As you know, Yakovlev spent 10 years in places which are not so distant. He was ambassador to Canada.

[Karpinskiy] I wanted to compliment you on Yakovlev, specifically, but even he was pushed aside somehow.

[Gorbachev] I must say that, nevertheless, that did not cut my ties and cooperation with him, and today I am cooperating with him again, and I will probably invite him to be my adviser on special issues.

[Karpinskiy] Thank goodness for that.

[Gorbachev] He views this positively, and the State Council members supported that decision yesterday. Another matter is the fact that, all the same, the generation which is being formed or has already been through the school of formation in conditions of perestroika will definitely be very different from us, and I am glad of that, because they are very committed to this policy, they are prepared to make sacrifices for this policy, they went

to defend that White House of ours. We must think about how to fit the keys to the locks and through what forms they can be led to a more active life. I remember, Yegor Vladimirovich—I think you were there the last time, at Stanford, in the United States—when I met...[changes thought] Or was it you, Vitaliy...[changes thought] A group of professors. Six of them were Nobel Prize holders. One famous man was Friedman, the economist. When he was young, he had instructions from the U.S. Administration to carry out reforms in Japan. When we arrived and saw how the people moved and bowed all the time, he said, we got into a state where we felt we would solve nothing there. Our reforms and proposals were not for these people. However, once the processes started moving; once the environment, the conditions, and the framework in which people operated changed; and once everything got going, he said: You see, now the Japanese are already overtaking us, and in some places they have passed us. Therefore, that is also an answer to your question.

Therefore, change via a democratic mechanism, through continuing democratic transformations into an environment which will take all levels onto a new road. So what if someone doesn't accept it? Society will go in that direction anyway. It has set off. I do not know whether I'm an incurable optimist, but...

[Potapov, interrupting] Mikhail Sergeyevich, we began by touching on one of the most acute issues, namely investigation—Igor Vladimirovich said journalistic investigation—which requires culture, delicacy, everything. People are afraid not only of unpredictable things in politics, in society, and so on but also of the problem of the nuclear button, as raised by journalists. People have suddenly...[changes thought] Some say that we might, so to speak, fall into a military situation again. This is all we need! What else can be said on this, in addition to what you have said? Won't journalists have to concern themselves seriously with this?

[Gorbachev] They won't have to since it is a fact that this subject has really surfaced, because the president has such a high responsibility before his people and other peoples of our country. Nevertheless, I cannot reveal this mechanism to you. We won't reveal it to anyone. You won't be able to discover it through any investigation because this is ruled out. However, I had every reason, on the basis of my knowledge—although this is the prerogative of specialists, they thought up the mechanism; nevertheless, because of my particular responsibility, I had already investigated this problem a long time ago, and I can picture it—I had reason, on the basis of this knowledge, to say to Senator Nunn, a great expert on all these issues—he came specially to talk, exchange opinions about these problems—to say: Senator, my opinion is—or rather, my judgement is—that, since I know about my own mechanism for controlling nuclear weapons and can compare it with your mechanism, I can assert that ours is more reliable. It was difficult for him to quarrel, and he did not quarrel. It is true. I want to assure you that it is ruled out.

[Yakovlev] Many people have asked on what Gorbachev was asked to give evidence.

[Gorbachev] Yes, I gave the USSR and RSFSR procurators and investigator Frolov evidence. On the whole, the committee's crime was not that it intended to carry out these acute measures and steps but that, on the basis of forgery, they removed the legal president and, thus, carried out an anticonstitutional coup. It began there, first and foremost.

I had to give evidence, and I gave it to them, and I answered all the questions which...[changes thought] Mine is some of the most important evidence.

[Chaplina] I also have a question concerning many of our readers. This concerns an investigation by virtually every newspaper today into the question of the party and the party's property. The point is that various figures are being heard. Stories are being heard about operations to convert money via party bodies. There is talk of foreign currency accounts containing party money opened for some placement. The point is that this is also a question from the past. However, until recently you were General Secretary of that party, and these financial documents and financial operations apparently could not have passed you by. How much truth is there in this? And the most important thing—excuse me Mikhail Sergeyevich: Why do you not say anything about this? As recent leader of the party and someone who is undoubtedly acquainted with these problems, everyone is waiting to hear what you have to say about it.

[Gorbachev] Yes, I think I do know the truth. You know, now, after all this talk, perhaps someone has recently made use of these channels and, using them as a cover, has carried out some sort of operations. However, what I knew was also known by the whole party, namely that there is a party budget and that it has its sources and its budget revenues. They are all legal. At one time, the party received subsidies, the party was paid for by state subsidies. However, for many years now—and Len Vyacheslavovich knows this very well. I think—yes, he knows because he worked in the party apparatus...[interrupted by indistinct interjection] I think that the party has been self-financing for at least 20 years—well, at least 15 years. This comes from its printing activity and primarily from newspapers. Thus, from this point of view, all the sources were legal and normal, I would say. That's the first thing.

Second, how much money was in the accounts? I may be mistaken, but I think there is somewhere between 4 and 5 billion rubles in the accounts. This figure was not revealed. The current annual budget was mentioned, but this figure...[changes thought] Then we revealed it. I think we revealed it at the 28th Congress—or somewhere about that time—but we revealed this figure. It is possible that under the new conditions this money could come into circulation. However, this must be examined. Is this normal or not? If there is money, can it be invested anywhere? Moreover, when we received one

percent of revenue, membership dues immediately fell by 1 billion, and the dues were insufficient for feeding. It was necessary to think about money. Here, there could have been such approaches. Unfortunately—I must say this—I suppose that the money in the accounts could have been put into a bank for interest. However, this will also be legal. I think people are talking about something else, that some people used the party as a cover, the Central Committee as a cover, and laundered mafia money. I think this is what they are talking about. I do not know about this; I cannot say that this took place. If it took place, then this means that it was done secretly and, therefore, illegally. I think that all the Central Committee secretaries, that such information...[changes thought] I cannot confirm that this took place. Let them investigate.

[Karpinskiy] Do you agree that this must be investigated?

[Gorbachev] Absolutely. I think they will investigate this now, as a matter of fact.

[Chaplina] This money, as party property, must also be returned to the state?

[Gorbachev] You know what I think. The party property issue must be examined like this: first...[changes thought] We have returned to this. When we found out that destruction and pogroms were possible and when the decisions were made on party activities, then it was taken under guard. I adopted a decree so that this would be done by local soviets. I feel this is correct, and the people's bodies must take this under control until the question of distributing party property is resolved.

Second, this issue must be resolved on a judicial basis. The court must determine this. If the court determines that this party must carry out its decision—we won't go into detail—then this will all come into the state's control. If there are any legal heirs—there is, after all, Rutsik's party, or some others—they can make claims on this. The communists—former communists—who paid membership dues, something was done on the basis of these dues, and they have the right, if they have formed a political movement or party, to claim this.

All of this needs legal examination. Therefore, this—what I would call arbitrary—seizure is unacceptable. However, the fact that everything should be reviewed...[changes thought] I think that such a large number of buildings and establishments is hardly needed. All of this should be used by the authorities in the interests of the working people and, in the first place, for children, for health care, for all these things. I think that we should display high legal and political standards.

[Golembiovskiy] Mikhail Sergeyevich, on behalf of my colleagues, I would like to thank you once again for coming to see us at our first meeting. This is all the more important for us since you opened the doors of this club, and now they cannot be closed again. I would like to

thank you for your frankness and for speaking so sincerely and with such commitment. I think this was of interest not only to us but also to all those have watched and listened. I hope we will meet again. I promise that we will not bother you often, but if you should happen to be interested in coming, then we are ready at any time. Thank you, once again.

[Gorbachev] O.K.. I do not think that this has been the most successful event or conversation. In some way, it recalls the first pancake off the stove, but, all the same, we cooked it. Let people taste it, and we will have other meetings. I am ready for new meetings. I wish your meetings success because a very interesting undertaking is under way. I welcome it in every way; otherwise, I would not have been here on this day, the first day. Perhaps it is the most difficult day; it is always difficult to start. You will gain in experience. Evidently, you will begin to learn. I now simply wish to thank you.

[Golembiovskiy] Thank you.

IZVESTIYA Interviews Gorbachev

PM1809165191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Interview with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev by correspondent G. Alimov in IZVESTIYA editorial office on 17 September; first two paragraphs are introduction: "Democratic Choice Deprives Me of Possibility of Acting by Other Methods..." Mikhail Gorbachev Answers IZVESTIYA Correspondent's Questions"]

[Text] On 17 September a session of the chief editors television club was held in the IZVESTIYA editorial office, in which M. Gorbachev took part. Yegor Yakovlev, chairman of the All-Union State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, TASS General Director Vitaliy Ignatenko, IZVESTIYA Chief Editor Igor Golembiovskiy, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Chief Editor Vladislav Fronin, TRUD Chief Editor Aleksandr Potapov, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Chief Editor Lek Karpinskiy, and Natalya Chaplina, editor of the newspaper CHAS PIK, took part in the meeting, which was devoted to the role of the mass media in the country's present-day political life.

After the meeting an IZVESTIYA correspondent asked the USSR president a few questions.

[Alimov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, a very great deal is now being said about the past and the present. But few people prefer to speak of the future. Probably because they have a very vague idea of it. How do you see the country's future? How do you see your life in one, two, or five years' time?

[Gorbachev] I think that healthy processes must form on the basis of the changes which we are implementing on all salients of perestroika, of course, within the next 18

months to two years or three years. But for the country to gather the necessary pace of renewal will take 10-15 years.

You know, we have an enormous potential. That is not simply a standard phrase or cliché. I was talking recently with the American John Kristol [name as transliterated], an agrarian specialist who is an old acquaintance of mine. He was discussing what can be done in the agrarian sector. He said: You have everything—an educated people, enormous resources—that will enable you to become a wealthy country. And we must be a wealthy country. I repeat—we have everything for this. We must become different. Then we shall live differently.

[Alimov] But how do you see your life...

[Gorbachev] I am most anxious about how our children will live, both my grandchildren and those who are now 15-20 years old. I see the point of my work here, because ultimately it was for the sake of this that it all began. We were not frightened by the difficulties. We knew that we would have to resolve many complex and difficult problems. We set ourselves the aim of ensuring that right now people, having joined in democratic processes, would feel they were people. That has already happened. And that is an achievement of perestroika.

But we must also emerge into a new life from the viewpoint of the forms and conditions of life. I would nonetheless very much like the people who have given so much to this land to feel that their time—a happy time—has finally come. That is why I think least of all of myself. That is why it was easy for me to make my decision when the putschists issued an ultimatum. I said: You know that for me all questions are decided. I made my choice for myself long ago. It is putschists who can act without considering their means. But I cannot advance to my goal by different paths... The democratic choice deprives me of the possibility of acting by other methods. Otherwise a manifestation of the past, of everything which we have denounced, would inevitably begin. For all our toughness we must nonetheless resolve the main thing democratically. I see no paths other than democracy.

[Alimov] Now the "parade of sovereignties" has been succeeded by the "parade of independences." What is it?

[Gorbachev] I do not see any special difference here. Sovereignty presupposes independence. And independence, conversely, creates opportunities, prerequisites, for taking a correct, voluntary decision. And our common historical fate urgently dictates the need to be together.

In my opinion centrifugal tendencies have now been intensified in society. If after my return from the Crimea I found the country in a state of shock or collapse, disintegration, within two to three days the self-preservation mechanisms had started to operate. It was that which pushed the republics to decide to go to the congress with their Joint Statement.

[Alimov] On one hand the political changes are striking and on the other there is the depressing state of the economy. The recent session of the State Council discussed the draft treaty on the economic union. But questions remain. Grigoriy Yavlinskiy said: Either the draft is adopted and begins to operate—or let's go our separate ways....

[Gorbachev] At least the Russians said they would implement everything dictated by the market and they are inviting everyone to join. I think that will have decisive significance.

If we are speaking of specific things—of the market, of the food situation, of the unregulated nature of the monetary system, and so forth—there are blunders and there are objective reasons like, for instance, the decline in oil extraction, and the reduction of exports by almost half. And the price declined by half, too. It all came together, as they say. Now these circumstances are severely restricting our opportunities. The main reason is the long-standing trends which led to stagnation even at the end of the seventies. You remember that in 1981-1982 the national income increased virtually not at all and a decline even began. We are paying other people's bills.

The economy is an inertial mechanism. In addition to everything else the way in which the organs of state power have functioned, executive power, plus the parade of sovereignties and the war of laws have also left their mark on the state of affairs in the economy. So that past blunders and omissions of recent years have been tied here into a tight knot.

[Alimov] Many people are inclined to believe that the Novo-Ogarevo process will most likely recede into history. But what do you think? Will there be a continuation?

[Gorbachev] The Novo-Ogarevo process in one form or another is continuing, the State Council sessions are an example of that. But the Novo-Ogarevo process, if you understand it on the broad political plane, is constructive collaboration, social consensus. And we must struggle for that.

Bakatin Interviewed on Changes in KGB

PM1809155791 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI
in Russian No 36, 8 Sep 91 p 6

[Interview with KGB Chairman Vadim Bakatin by Viktor Loshak in Moscow under "MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Interview" rubric; date not given: "Vadim Bakatin: 'We Have Much To Forgive One Another'"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Loshak] But in general terms what sort of view have you formed of the KGB over the last few days, and how will the committee itself change?

[Bakatin] Today we have already dispensed with the special troops—three divisions and a brigade have been transferred to the Soviet Army. We think the border troops should also be absolutely autonomous—they serve no purpose in the KGB. The presidential decree on special communications (which includes the cryptography service) has already been signed. This vast institution accounts for a quarter of the KGB's budget. Incidentally, the KGB budget is considerably less than that of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. And it has fewer staff. Moreover, military counterintelligence should be transferred to the Army in the very near future. The service that should be dealing with problems of militia treachery and corruption within the MVD should be transferred from the KGB to the MVD. Let them answer for themselves and have their own instruments of internal counterintelligence.

[Loshak] And the archives?

[Bakatin] Yeltsin has already written a decree about these, and he and I have coordinated a plan to deal with this very complex problem. It is not such a simple matter to seal everything up and to open everything. We reached agreement with Yeltsin on a six-month time frame. But the movement of all our archives has been halted; it is forbidden to cart off any material. Commissions have been established together with the Russian State Archive. But I repeat: Archives will only be transferred to outside agencies over my dead body! I do not want to introduce a motive into public life for settling scores, which would be basically be a tragedy for thousands of people.

[Loshak] Will you divide the KGB into foreign and domestic sections—into two structures?

[Bakatin] Right now on my third day I do not want to make a snap decision: I came, I saw, I conquered—this is not my style. Consultation is needed here. But I think that, having jettisoned all its unnatural functions, the KGB should retain either two or three main functions. Assuming it will have three, these will be foreign intelligence outside the country's borders, domestic counterintelligence (the fight against infiltration by spies), and the third thing will be elite subunits grappling with the most dangerous offenses under ordinary law: corruption, widespread gangsterism, narcotics, and terrorism. To a certain extent these special subunits will duplicate MVD work, of course, but I don't see any problem with this.

At the moment, however, I think it would be better if there were two areas of KGB work. A State Intelligence Committee subordinated to the Supreme Soviet should simply be set up alongside it. This would be a sounder policy than combining intelligence and counterintelligence. Everyone says there would be no coordination or cooperation. All the inertia and negative things that exist here lurk behind this false premise.

[Loshak] Do you have any ideas about the size of the cuts in the KGB, even in percentage terms?

[Bakatin] I could say that it would be possible to simply go ahead and cut back by 10 percent. Why? Because we are 10 percent under strength (I am quoting round figures). This would be painless. [Ya mogu skazat, chto mozno seychas prosto vzyat i sokratit na 10 protsentov. Pochemu? Potomu chto 10 protsentov (Ya chut-chut okruglyayu)—nekomplekt. Eto bezboleznenno.] Believe me: Once the troops and special communications have left, it will be a very small organization.

[Loshak] One of the problems in East Europe is that of their former state security service staffers who have been dismissed and are now out of work. How do you view the future of those who will be dismissed in our country?

[Bakatin] Only the top of the pyramid should suffer the consequences for the putsch.

[Loshak] You mean the dismissals have already begun?

[Bakatin] Yes. And I can cite a whole list of people I have already dismissed. Generals Plekhanov, Generalov, Beda, Gluzchenko, Rasshchepov, Karpukhin, Grushko, Ageyev... But does this mean very much? And there will be quite a few more dismissals. We may be talking about hundreds or thousands across the country, but these are the ones whose reputation was really blackened by the state crime of participation in the conspiracy. I am not concerned about them. But there is concern, for example, about Lithuanian KGB workers. What is to become of them? They continued to serve the laws and the organ which, strictly speaking, represented the Union. They are not guilty. After all, it was not they who brought about this situation but Landsbergis and Gorbachev, who dragged this process out until the putsch whipped things up, encouraged audacity, and hastened disintegration. As far as Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are concerned, it is not disintegration but a perfectly natural process. But on quitting the Union, ought they to hound and take repressive measures against staffers who have committed no crime in law; ought these people to be deprived of their pensions?

[Loshak] Apparently, you have been studying documents relating to the putsch. Have you come across lists of people who were to be arrested?

[Bakatin] No. I have not come across any such documents. What has been printed in one newspaper is unreliable. I can assume that there were never any lists. Because, after all, people here do not like leaving traces (as I realized). If it was necessary to arrest anyone, like Gdlyan, then the order would have been given orally. But today I still do not have at my disposal the completed departmental document about the inquiry into all these facts, and so at the present time I would treat these questions with great caution.

[Loshak] In your view, how can the public indignation which continues to break like a wave over the KGB and which spells catastrophe for its personnel be avoided?

[Bakatin] Speaking from an overall perspective, the shadow of past repressions and other crimes lies over the punitive and repressive organs. This is still the case. But society should understand, however, that it has itself to blame,—after all, people put up with it, they carried on living, and now everyone has become a hero, everyone wants to accuse somebody. This is not the way to do things. We have much to forgive one another.

[Loshak] What are your personal feelings about the removal of the monument to Dzerzhinskiy?

[Bakatin] The same way I feel about vandalism, which we will be deploring very soon. I see no victory here. And not because I have enormous respect for Dzerzhinskiy, not at all. As a mature person, my attitude toward him is one of absolute indifference.

[Loshak] And how do you feel about the warning that "it is always dangerous to stir up a hornets' nest"? After all, you have been set the task of shaking it up.

[Bakatin] Yes, this could provoke a new wave of violence or terror. One of the first documents I signed was a document relating to the danger of terror, a wave of revenge, and attempts to settle old scores.

[Loshak] Will your status be that of a civilian or a politician, or will the situation once again force you to be a general?

[Bakatin] When they started discussing whether the rank of lieutenant general might be insufficient for me, and whether they should make me a colonel general, I personally asked them not to give me a rank. It is not necessary. I think that any service should basically be administered by professionals. We are gradually making the transition from a militarized network (ranging from junior lieutenant to army general) to a hierarchy of officials like a commissar or an inspector. But this is in the future. Right now this system cannot be broken because for hundreds of thousands of people it means pensions and the fulfillment of terms of service. The whole system needs to be changed.

Top KGB Appointees' Responsibilities Outlined

*PM1909100591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2*

[S. Mostovshchikov report: "In the USSR KGB It Is No Longer Just Some Cadres That Decide Everything"]

[Text] Vadim Bakatin, the new KGB chief, has made a series of dismissals and appointments in his department, replacing people who occupied key positions under Vladimir Kryuchkov. The USSR president has confirmed Bakatin's cadre plans with his decrees.

USSR KGB Deputy Chairman Valeriy Lebedev has been dismissed with effect from 11 September 1991. The general ran the Directorate for the Protection of the Constitutional System (formerly the Ideological Directorate), the archives, the public relations center, the

KGB's Seventh Directorate (Surveillance Service [Naruzhnoye nablyudeniye]), and the special officers' subunit for combating terrorism—the "Alpha" Group. Also dismissed is his subordinate Aleksandr Fokin, chief of the KGB's Department 10 (Archive Department), who, apart from everything else, was also responsible for the work of KGB remand units and prisons.

Lieutenant General Gennadiy Titov, KGB deputy chairman and chief of the Second Main Directorate—that is, the man who was responsible for counterintelligence in the USSR—has been removed from his post by presidential decree. The general was appointed to this post by Kryuchkov around seven months ago. IZVESTIYA's sources of information rate Titov's professional expertise quite highly. In the past he has been a highly skilled Soviet intelligence officer who joined the KGB at an early age. However, within the KGB both he and the now dismissed Lebedev were considered as being 100-percent Kryuchkov's people, with whose help Kryuchkov consolidated his positions in the KGB after the January 1991 retirement on pension of such apostles of the chekist movement as Filipp Bobkov and Vladimir Pirozhkov.

Incidentally, Titov has been deprived not only of his KGB position but also of membership of the State Commission for Investigating the Activities of the State Security Organs, which was set up by the USSR president after the putsch. His place in the commission has been taken by Major General Anatoliy Oleynikov, who has been appointed Bakatin's first deputy and whose career has now, by all accounts, taken an incredible stride forward. His last post was deputy chief of the Directorate for Combating Organized Crime—in the rank of colonel. At one time Oleynikov worked in the Moscow KGB Administration, and also managed state security in the city of Perm.

Major General Nikolay Sham, who began his KGB career as an ordinary operative, has also become Bakatin's deputy. His last post was first deputy chief of the Directorate for the Protection of the Soviet Economy, which, it turns out, not only exists but also needs to be insulated against an external enemy. Of course, now it is hard to judge whether the enemy has wiped out all the sausage and sugar, or whether these commodities themselves rarely appear in the USSR anyway, but it emerges that in Kryuchkov's time the economy was protected, and in the counterintelligence system to boot.

Aleksandr Karbainov, chief of the USSR KGB Public Relations Center, informed IZVESTIYA that the chekist personnel have not yet been told the reasons for the dismissals that have been made. But they can be judged from Bakatin's own words to journalists after his recent meeting with French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe:

"The people in the KGB leadership who are unable to adjust and work in the new conditions will have to go."

Bakatin thus defined his cadre policy for the near future.

Priest Details KGB, Church Collaboration

91UF1164A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 36, Sep 91 p 7

[Interview with Father Georgiy Edelshteyn, priest of Kostroma Diocese, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent P. Lukyanchenko; place and date not given: "Chekists... in Cassocks"]

[Text] Not so long ago, Metropolitan of Smolensk and Kaliningrad Kirill, a member of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, stated that there have been many individuals in the church who have cooperated with the KGB, just as at Central Television. This statement provided the basis for a conversation between our correspondent P. Lukyanchenko and Father Georgiy Edelshteyn, priest of the Kostroma Diocese.

[Edelshteyn] In the last five years Father Gleb Yakunin and I have talked and written about the dominance of the KGB in the church many times. However, members of our hierarchy have either staunchly denied this or have been silent. The statement by Metropolitan Kirill is particularly valuable because he heads the Department of External Church Relations—an establishment that has almost entirely been taken over by the KGB, from the chairman on down to the door keeper.

This is the case not only with Kirill but also his predecessor in the post of chairman, Metropolitan of Minsk Filaret. When he became a candidate during an election of people's deputies, we asked through the magazine REFERENDUM: "Why is the office of a career KGB officer next to your reception room?" I was told that he responded as follows: "I am a monk, and I do everything the Most Holy Patriarch commands me to."

[Lukyanchenko] Everybody can be accused indiscriminately of working for the KGB. Can you give the names of people whom you know for certain work for the KGB?

[Edelshteyn] Let us assume that I will give you the names of five people now. These five specifically will incur the wrath of your readers. However, this is not to say that others are not guilty of the same. After all, to this day one member in two of the clergy is an overt or covert employee of the Committee for State Security. I am not aware of a priest to whom KGB employees have not talked. This is confirmed by the words of the former chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs, K. Kharchev: "Not a single candidate for bishop, to say nothing of a highly placed one, to say nothing of a member of the Holy Synod, came through without approval from the CPSU Central Committee and the KGB."

[Lukyanchenko] Do you count yourself among the other half of the priests who have not had contacts and have not cooperated with the KGB?

[Edelshteyn] Not at all. I have had contacts with the KGB. When I served in the city of Kadnikov, Vologda Oblast, an employee of the local KGB Administration

visited me regularly. During the first meeting he asked right away: "Will you sign a pledge of cooperation for me?" I told him: "I will not." "Well, we are going to meet for conversations only."

He asked me about Father Gleb Yakunin, who was in prison at the time, and well-known rights advocates Father Dimitriy Dudko and Father Nikolay Eshliman. In addition, Archbishop of Vologda Mikhail told me several times that he had contacts with the organs of state security and that the chief of the local KGB department visited him on a regular basis. The archbishop himself also visited the KGB often.

[Lukyanchenko] What else were KGB employees interested in?

[Edelshteyn] Everything associated with the life of a local parish, for example, my income. They put it this way: "Tell us honestly, as if at confession, how much money you make, and how much sticks to your fingers." All priests always have lots of different income. Moreover, if you are obedient and cooperate eagerly, you will be "rewarded": transferred to a rich church where you will make five to 10 times more than the 150 to 200 rubles.

[Lukyanchenko] They say that until recently there was even a tariff for a transfer to a rich parish and for taking holy orders out of turn. They mention the following number: Between 25,000 and 75,000 was paid to be made "bishop." Is this true?

[Edelshteyn] You are using the past tense, whereas corruption in the church exists to this day. All kinds of prices are mentioned. However, I would not want to gossip because I did not encounter this directly.

[Lukyanchenko] A former employee of Directorate "3" [as published] of the USSR KGB who was responsible for "working with the church" boasted in an unofficial conversation: "We have long operated under complete economic accountability," meaning the practice of receiving bribes from the church.

[Edelshteyn] You may remember a report in the press on the execution by firing squad of Rostov KGB Administration Major Khvostikov, who oversaw church parishes, for bribery.

I had a friend, a priest. When he went to the Council for Religious Affairs (read: "branch office of the KGB") he took along a bag of the most exquisite alcoholic beverages. So, after he was done, there was nothing to do in these departments of the Council—everybody was drunk under the table.

The "giving" and "taking" indeed occur at the level of oblast KGB administrations and commissioners of the Council. I can say so with complete certainty.

[Lukyanchenko] In exchange for what?

[Edelshteyn] For example, it became necessary to accept a monk at the Holy Spirit Monastery which was in

Vilnius. A residence permit was needed for this, but the militia would not issue one. In that case a grandiose drunken party was thrown at the diocesan administration to which the appropriate "top-brass representative" was invited. Later, he was helped out, and placed in the monastery ZiM, and sturgeon, balyk, and several kilograms of coffee were loaded in the trunk. Several days later, we received a residence permit. The same occurred during ordination, when someone was about to become a priest.

[Lukyanchenko] That is to say, the Church corrupted the KGB rather than the other way around.

[Edelshteyn] Do you know where our present-day Church ends and the KGB begins? The only difference was that some wore hoods and some had shoulder boards.

[Lukyanchenko] They say that the KGB used members of the clergy extensively to conduct operations abroad.

[Edelshteyn] This is true. I will quote just two generally known examples. They are B. Kudinkin, an employee of the Department of External Church Relations for many years, and Father Anatoliy Kaznovetskiy. At present, both serve at the All-Saints Church at Sokol, in Moscow.

[Lukyanchenko] What do you see as a way out for the church? Is there a way out?

[Edelshteyn] To speak the truth and atone. It is necessary to destroy the system of comprehensive interconnections and reporting. This system is our only enemy.

[Lukyanchenko] You are now being courageous and discussing openly outrages that occurred, and occur, in the Church. But why were you silent before?

[Edelshteyn] They say that one is not born a dissident. Our system produced dissidents. I am not going to tell you about my entire ordeal. I will only tell you about two facts. For 20 years I was denied an opportunity to become a priest. When I finally became one, the Vologda Oblast commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs undertook to "condition" me some time later: "I have not yet failed to handle a rebellious priest. You will kneel right here, on the carpet next to my chair and plead with me to kiss my hand."

As far as my "silence" is concerned, I began to speak openly about outrages in the Church as early as 1980, and my first articles in the press (unfortunately, only in the foreign press at first) appeared in 1987.

Lukyanov's Attorney Answers Colleagues' Charge
PM1809093191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Sep 91 Union Edition p 8

[Report by V. Rudnev: "Three-Day Putsch. IZVESTIYA Investigation: State Committee for State of Emergency Case: Lawyers Disputing Already"]

[Text] To keep our readers informed about the course of the investigation we are also citing the lawyers' opinions. In particular, we approached A. Lukyanov's defense attorney Genrikh Padva (IZVESTIYA No. 210). However, his words that he would not have defended Yazov, Kryuchkov, Tizyakov, or Baklanov brought strong criticism from colleagues.

Here is the opinion of Georgiy Tumasov, lawyer and member of the presidium of the Moscow Oblast lawyers' college: "What Padva said grossly contradicts the demands of professional ethics. Long before the court has given its verdict the lawyer is calling all the accused conspirators whom, of course, he would not defend. 'But Lukyanov is a different matter...' believes attorney Padva, who is, incidentally, vice president of the International Lawyers' Union.

"By stressing his 'principles,' Padva is casting aspersions on his colleagues," Tumasov writes to IZVESTIYA, "who have agreed to defend the other accused. It doesn't matter to them whom they defend, doubt is being cast in advance on their legal position which no one knows yet, and an element of acute conflict is being introduced into the investigation process now under way. Obviously a lawyer should only make his position public when he makes his defense speech (if it comes to that), prepared on the basis of a careful analysis of materials obtained through the legal process."

"Naturally, the press is displaying a lively interest in all details relating to the case. We are receiving suggestions for interviews and questions about the team of defense lawyers and how they view the case's prospects, and even requests for biographical data on the defense lawyers. But the lawyers, and representatives of the investigative organs, should display maximum restraint and not rush to the television screen or the newspapers."

Pavlov's defense lawyer, Aleksey Galoganov, reacted in stronger terms. He believes that Padva has grossly violated professional ethics and should be expelled from the lawyers' college as a result. Galoganov qualified that by saying: Provided, though, that IZVESTIYA has not distorted Padva's words. Furthermore, my interlocutor remarked: "You journalists must stop covering the investigation process. Your comments are only causing confusion and unhealthy rumblings, which is hampering the defense. You will learn everything from the authoritative bodies in due course. So—no interview," Pavlov's lawyer concluded his monologue.

Well, it is a familiar attitude. And the tone he adopts in dealing with a journalist is a familiar one. Until recently all we did was convey "authoritative opinion." We are not trying to pry into the secrets of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] case investigation, but we are obliged to keep readers informed about its progress. Ultimately it was the people who defended the country against the SCSE and they are entitled to know how the investigation is proceeding. As for interviews,

we do not get upset when they are refused. We look for other sources of information.

Now for the crux of the lawyers' dispute. We acquainted Genrikh Padva with his colleagues' opinion. Here is what he said:

"Certainly, G. Reznik, for example, was right when he said recently, in relation to the SCSE Case, that a defense lawyer refusing to help for political reasons was like a priest refusing to hear confession or a doctor refusing to give assistance. A proper lawyer is obliged to defend a person even if their beliefs differ. If you read my words in IZVESTIYA carefully, you will see that I was quite clear about this when describing my relationship with Lukyanov. I am not going to repeat myself. What I would take issue with my colleague on is that a lawyer has no right to turn down anyone who approaches him. I believe there are exceptions. Life is richer than any arrangement of professional rules."

[Rudnev] "But you refused to defend Yazov, Kryuchkov, Tizyakov, and Baklanov."

[Padva] "I did not deny the SCSE members' right to a defense, that was never in my mind! And people are being overzealous in accusing me of prejudging the case. The fact that I personally do not have the right to defend Pavlov, Kryuchkov, Baklanov, and others SCSE members is another matter. I talked about it with the IZVESTIYA correspondent. Incidentally, I could name another lawyer who would act in the same way. He is Petr Barenboym. The thing is that 19 August found us in New York, on International Lawyers' Union business. We agreed in our assessment of the actions of the country's top officials who signed the SCSE decisions—conspiracy, illegal seizure of power, coup. My colleague and I expressed our opinion in dozens of telegrams to national lawyers' unions in various countries. Tell me, how could I now defend Pavlov and other SCSE members, having already publicly described them as conspirators? Is it ethical? No, the situation is such that the SCSE members will have to be defended by other lawyers. I wish them success in their work.

"Furthermore, I was reproached for calling them conspirators long before the court had given its verdict. That is true, our telegrams will not go away. But we sent them not so much 'long before the verdict' as some days before the SCSE was removed from power. There is a difference. And it is a pity my colleagues are trying to ignore it."

[Rudnev] "Incidentally, you could have kept quiet in New York."

[Padva] "And today I would not have been tormented by the ethical question: whom to defend and whom to turn down? But I was not thinking about professional ethics at the time, I was thinking about a country in danger."

[Rudnev] "Does your stance signify a conflict with colleagues defending those involved in the SCSE case?"

[Padva] "God forbid. We have a common cause and the same professional rules. But I am defending Lukyanov and not the others. So we have a common strategy, but each has his own tactics."

At this point we will call a halt to the lawyers' dispute. But let us stress one thing: We are disinclined to highlight the role of one SCSE member and to try to whitewash another. To get angry, for example, about Kryuchkov's treachery and to try to justify Lukyanov's indecision. In the public's mind they are one and the same—that is, the SCSE. As for legal assessments and juridical evaluations, we can only depend on the scrupulousness of the investigation, defense skills, and the impartiality of the court.

Shevardnadze Urges Endorsement of Union Treaty

OW1809192291 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1830 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, ex-foreign minister of the USSR and currently head of the Soviet Foreign Political Association, has called for spreading the policy of new thinking to inter-republican relations. Addressing the seminar "Post-Putsch Soviet Foreign Policy" in Moscow on Wednesday, he pointed to the need to preserve the Soviet Union as a single economic and democratic entity. He expressed the belief that a new Union Treaty could still be signed to lay the foundation for cooperation and horizontal links between the republics.

Mr. Shevardnadze warned that the uncontrolled disintegration of the Union might lead to "a civil war among the republics, a war on the European scale, and the beginning of a new world war."

A more detailed report about E. Shevardnadze's speech at the seminar will be featured in IF's [INTERFAX] DIPLOMATIC PANORAMA dated September 19.

Buzgalin Denies Wish to 'Reconstitute' CPSU

PM1809152391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 14 Sep 91 p 4

[Interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences Aleksandr Buzgalin, associate professor at Moscow State University and member of the CPSU Central Committee, conducted by correspondent A. Petrov; place and date not given: "Meeting Was Not Clandestine"]

[Text] [Buzgalin] Recently TASS reported that "the first illegal session of the organizational committee to reconstitute the party of communists was held in Moscow 7-8 September." In reality it was simply a routine session of the Marxist Platform coordinating council. It was held where it is always held and was open. And it was not publicized because it was necessary to discuss in a businesslike way what is to be done under present-day conditions.

[Petrov] How could such a canard have arisen, then?

[Buzgalin] Most likely one of the guests present at the meeting gave out general information, but did not consider himself authorized to comment on its organizers and its purpose. It merely became known that CPSU Central Committee members Prigarin and Buzgalin and Russian Communist Party Central Committee member Kruchkov attended.

[Petrov] And yet the CPSU's activity has been suspended, while you have mentioned the creation of a communist party...

[Buzgalin] The CPSU leadership has left the organization completely discredited. It is quite incapable of functioning without an apparatus, buildings, or officials because it is not an organization of people who think alike politically. And it cannot be described as a party in the political sense of the term. It formed an element of a totalitarian-bureaucratic system. People joined the party not only out of conviction, but in order to advance their careers or simply to avoid standing out from the crowd.

But there were also people in the party with sincere socialist and communist convictions. And they started coming out with a whole panoply of new initiatives. A whole series of movements, ranging from the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia [DPCR] headed by Rutskoy to those whose leaders, stubbornly failing to notice the crisis, continue repeating neo-Stalinist slogans, have now arisen on the basis of the CPSU.

[Petrov] I would guess that the party discussed at the session claims the title of "genuinely communist."

[Buzgalin] At the meeting I announced my resignation from the Marxist Platform coordinating council, as that tendency has long departed from its original democratic positions. And I do not support the idea of creating a new communist party. Regardless of the goodwill of its proponents, they will automatically become isolated from the real workers' movement. But I was and remain a communist, that is to say, someone who is deeply convinced that the future for mankind's development lies in a society where the free development of everyone is the precondition for the free development of all. An advocate of such an approach (regarding democracy as the precondition for progress toward socialism and understanding it as the power of the people not only in politics, but in economics too) made an appeal to communists to support the initiative of creating a Labor Party.

[Petrov] The idea of building socialism is not too popular today. Whose support are you counting on?

[Buzgalin] Yes, the reaction to the word "socialism" or "Marxism" is mostly adverse. But the actual inclination toward collective forms of organizing and defending one's own interests is very strong. The people most sharply opposed to socialism, including those from the working class, want to be in charge of their enterprises

and are opposed to having their director transformed into a private owner. Or, while championing the market and competition, they simultaneously favor the creation of a Labor Confederation to defend their common sectoral interests and coordinate the activity of the working class as a whole.

You will agree that all this sits ill within a private capitalist model of society.

[Petrov] What, then, lies in store for us all if this party wins the parliamentary contest?

[Buzgalin] While it has renounced inappropriate claims to a "vanguard role," it still has to earn the right to political recognition through honest cooperation with leftwing political organizations and movements, trade unions, and other associations of working people.

I would put it this way: Communists can only restore or, to be more precise still, find a good name by practical work in defense of the interests of hired labor, entering the democratic working people's movement as a left communist wing.

[Petrov] In other words, you cannot imagine political life without the communist movement?

[Buzgalin] The lack of a leftwing opposition very quickly leads society to the establishment of a rightwing Laborite regime.

'Last of Gulag Islands' Houses 15 Prisoners

PM1809145791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 14 Sep 91 p 2

[Report by TASS Correspondent Leonid Bogdatyev:
"From Penal Colony—to Red Square"]

[Text] Forty-three-year old former Soviet Army officer V. Yanin has been released from a strict regime correctional labor colony.

Having served a sentence for deserting from military service to Turkey and then to the United States and for divulging military secrets, he tried twice more to cross the USSR border illegally. He had 7 more years' detention and exile to serve when his pardon was announced.

"I am not going home to Kuybyshev but to Moscow, to Red Square," the freed man stated. "I am going on hunger strike there until they release all those who, like me, are paying too high a price for their desire for freedom."

During the years of perestroika the contingent of convicts at "Perm-35," known as the last of the Gulag islands, has become much reduced in size and has changed qualitatively. Those remaining are mainly people who, like Yanin, were convicted of conveying state secrets to foreign special services, people who

violated the military oath, people who committed serious crimes and tried to flee abroad, plane hijackers, and war criminals.

"Essentially there is no longer any need for such a colony, where there are just 15 people left. Especially since the process of the 'thaw' in relation to those who have already served a large part of their service is continuing," General V. Fedorov, chief of the oblast soviet executive committee internal affairs administration, believes.

After Gorbachev promised during a Kremlin-America television link to speed up the review of cases with a political emphasis, the cases of several convicts at the same colony have been called in for review.

Media & Journalism

Former State TV Chief Kravchenko Interviewed

LD0809182191 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 2215 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Interview with Leonid Petrovich Kravchenko, former head of the All-Union Television and Radio Company, by announcer Aleksandr Lyubimov in Kravchenko's apartment; date not given; from the "VID" program—recorded]

[Text] [Kravchenko] All the tragic events for me—I say they were tragic because afterwards in one way or another Gostelradio became implicated in all that happened during those days, and could not fail to be implicated. After all, television and radio are taken at once as bridges, and you know, we were witnesses to what was happening among us. If a state of emergency was declared in our country, about 0600 by military rule, a state of siege, was imposed. Five tanks stood on the Pyatnenskaya, about the same number in Ulitsa Kachalova, the at GDRZ [State House of Radio Broadcasting and Sound Recording], in Shabolovka they say there were a few more, and the Ostankino Television Center was not only encircled, but there were soldiers stationed on the floors, to say nothing of other competent comrades who were carrying out special missions. So in all this... it was highly dramatic to be working and even holding conferences during in those days and during those hours, and you were almost certain that everything you said was being recorded. It was extremely distressing. And if I were asked today, justas on judgement day what I thought about it, at that moment, I would reply that—I've had time since to do some thinking—I'd reply that the operation was planned against the opposition.

Today there are arguments in parliament on what it should be called: a constitutional coup—in general the legal norms—they all spoke, but no one said it in so many words. I am absolutely sure now that it was an operation planned specifically against the opposition, against the Russian leadership, against the Moscow and

Leningrad leadership, against those recalcitrant Baltic republics. But if it had been Gorbachev doing it—I don't think it would have worked, because he'd have stood in the way. In the way. As a democrat, he'd have stood in the way. And it was necessary to isolate him. It's an amazing thing. When I drew together that information, our society, really, was at a loss. They gave us documents: the whole higher leadership, except the president, was there after all. A coup against whom—against themselves? Strange! So, either it's isolation of the president, and assuming power—taking it strongly, if you take it at all, take it strongly, and take possession, especially where today the power is in other hands—in the hands of the democratic forces.

And now the concept, it later, suddenly and in a strange way, manifested itself at the news conference, when in the Russian parliament—perhaps I'm getting it slightly wrong—one of the women, I think a chairman of the council from Rostov Oblast, said, but I've heard reports that Gorbachev has, as it were, lost nothing. He would have been the victor in either case. And she for some reason quoted Lukyanov, to which Mikhail Sergeyevich reacted rather sharply: If Lukyanov said that, he's a criminal. That is, if he said that [words indistinct].

[Lyubimov] Nevertheless, if we look at things mathematically, that is the way that it is.

[Kravchenko] But that was the version that they sent, that they sent or distributed. But I am talking to you about incidents that I witnessed...when I was first given this information, or when they tell you all this, you just go crazy, even more so...

[Lyubimov, interrupting] Alright, Leonid Petrovich, but...

[Kravchenko, continuing] You know...

[Lyubimov, interrupting] Just for a moment, on the subject of Gorbachev which is, in your view, a very important point. Nevertheless, if in this situation, if Gorbachev would have returned in this situation, then this would also have been noble on his part, because then—if as you consider, he is a democrat—he could then have somehow softened the harsh measures and turned them for the good...I do not know, but he would have come back anyway, so from a purely mathematical viewpoint...

[Kravchenko, interrupting] All speculation on the subject of whether or not they could even remove Gorbachev seems to me to be lacking in gravity. These people were, in actual fact, at one time chosen by him, and I do not know, but it seems to me to be a sort of sacrilege. All the same, from these meetings, I have a feeling—even from facial expressions, gestures and tone, and everything—that this isolation was probably planned for the length of time which would be needed to completely assume power, then after that, whatever...then, I began to reason. We are, generally speaking, often wise in hindsight. I reasoned that they had not

taken into account how, for example, could Gorbachev declare some sort of military rule or state of emergency in those places—Moscow and Leningrad—and remove the Russian leadership. That is anticonstitutional, so it...[changes thought] Just one television tower in Vilnius had colossal consequences, sad consequences for all democrats. I was often asked: What are you up to there? I said that I did not seize that tower so I cannot get out of the tower, and I do not plan to hand it over. It is not our affair, in particular, it is not the affair of our company. So, that was one factor.

The second thing was that tragic situation with the customs men in Lithuania. What were the international consequences of that as well? Immediately, economic aid is suspended and so on and so forth. We are all disappointed.

[Lyubimov] So, he would have returned, would have reproved them...

[Kravchenko, interrupting] That is what we can assume. I do not allow myself to speculate, moreover, I do not even share this view.

[Lyubimov] On the 19th you said that you were carrying out the will of the president. What did you have in mind when you said this under the conditions of the state of emergency?

[Kravchenko] Er...obviously, this arose because of incorrect information. I did not say these words at the emergency meeting. I recalled this because, er,er...when I, what happened previously came to mind...how we worked prior to this. I know that you are offended by me, Vzgl'yad is, and several others have a grievance against me. That is tied in with the phrase that I came to carry out the president's will. I even read quite a few interviews where they almost said that Gorbachev himself gave instructions about some programs, censorship of the strictest kind to close someone down...

[Lyubimov, interrupting] But wasn't it you who closed us down?

[Kravchenko] That is not true.

[Lyubimov] But, didn't you close us down?

[Kravchenko] No.

[Lyubimov] That is what I am talking about.

[Kravchenko] Yes, and I was not covering for you, and I think that in general we shouldn't do that, but should...[changes thought] you remember how we then, that evening when Yanayev was being confirmed, that is, elected vice president in that dramatic situation, and we didn't get Shevardnadze and then later they said Kravchenko had blocked Shevardnadze or something—well, you know, that wasn't true. But I proposed at the time—I now—I now should be sprinkling ashes on my head—I said, Sasha, why can't we...if we can't have Shevardnadze, then why don't we try Yanayev: you can

torment him a bit with your pointed questions, it might be interesting. Well, you didn't want to do that at the time, and indeed you were within your rights. Then we agonized until midnight, racking our brains as to how to explain next day why the Vzglyad program was not being shown.

[Lyubimov] Good, this is a time when everyone's trying to tell the truth, sincerely. So who closed down Vzglyad? Let us go back to a year ago.

[Kravchenko] Well, today I reject the complicity of Gorbachev, or any instructions. Honestly, that is not true. There were no recommendations from Gorbachev concerning this. Though as far as I know, there had long been pressure to close Vzglyad. And Reshetov had told me about it. What's more, I was told that every time Friday approached they awaited that black Friday with dread, because every edition of Vzglyad brought them trouble. I mean for the leadership: the first deputy, the deputy who was in charge of the youth dachas, and so on and so on. But of course the circumstances that then arose, when—they arose precisely in connection with Shevardnadze. When he dramatically resigned and he gave no interviews, you and I established that, and only later was it a question, with the next edition, of a repeat of the command...

[Lyubimov, interrupting] Yes, we wanted to invite his aides, I spoke about that [word indistinct].

[Kravchenko] Yes, I mean the team [words indistinct]. After all, your program, the team, it's the story of the aides, to invite the aides... At the time I regarded it—I acknowledge this now—not from the professional viewpoint, not from the point of view of everyday life: an incorrect demand and intention, and I said so to Reshetov; because it was felt that when such an upheaval happens, with such great international resonance, as the resignation of a very popular foreign minister, aides can hardly be empowered to give full explanations. Though now I feel that I may have been mistaken, because some important details could have been clarified, just as in the current situation very important details are beginning to be clarified, they can be clarified not at all at the foreign minister level, but at lower levels. In the last few days, all the more, I have been away according to plan, I'm on leave currently, on leave in this dramatic situation, but in general it is with a terribly heavy heart and I have done a lot of thinking about independence. I have, after all, maintained all along that state radio and television can't be independent. And that is true.

[Lyubimov] Leonid Petrovich, when the events occurred on the 19th, you are saying that with the introduction of the state of emergency there would be order in the country and you feared for your subordinates that they would hamper you from playing a part if they were to speak about your liberal stance, or had you indeed adopted such a stance?

[Kravchenko] If one is to be absolutely honest...

[Lyubimov, interrupting] Well, in general that is what you have come along for.

[Kravchenko, continuing] ... absolutely honest, I was already in a position where everything I said could in a short while be completely known to everyone, especially those who had taken control of us. After the Vremya programme on the 19th, which had contained interesting pieces including a statement by Kryuchkov, a Moscow report, and so on, Yanayev telephoned Lazutkin, the first deputy chairman, and said that it had been a fine program. With regards to that programme I was—and incidentally Lazutkin too, and many telephone calls were received from various people—I was not only not given it in the neck, but ...

[Lyubimov, interrupting] Who were these people?

[Kravchenko] Well, several people called, one after the other. They included Dzasokhov, and it was indeed Aleksandr Sergeyevich who told me to get ready and to go there for consultations with them—with him and Shenin. I said—I am boasting now—that I had had no sleep for more than 24 hours and I was no longer thinking straight. This conversation was around 2200. If you wish to say something to somebody then please say it to Valentin Lazutkin, who is seated here at present at the Vremya program. The Vremya program was—er, this was on the 19th—but he was aware at least of all the subjects covered. I had gone there because by 2000. I was simply ...

[Lyubimov, interrupting] Who else telephoned besides Dzasokhov?

[Kravchenko] Yes, there was Dzasokhov. Pugo called the following day. Incidentally, a very interesting thing is that these telephone calls included some from people who were very indignant over the musical format the day's television programs as a whole, because—there is even an anecdote here: they were saying that we had been broadcasting some kind of requiem instead of cheerful music and that this symphony orchestra reminded one of the funeral years—er, months when this was being done endlessly. They have put Swan Lake on. What does it mean? Is it a swansong or something? Incidentally, within a circle of people very close to me that included Lazutkin and two or three other deputies, we discussed the problem of what further stance to take, incidentally, when it became clear to us. It became clear to me by noon on the 20th, and in the evening when I visited the committee it became completely clear to me that all this was worthless. That is the way it seemed to me and when I came home to my wife that evening I said to her: You know, they are simply making big fools of us and we are having to fill the air waves with every kind of conceivable and inconceivable method.

[Lyubimov] Leonid Petrovich, according to my observations, over the last few days you number among the majority of leaders of sectors of industry who behaved cautiously, that is to say, they did not adopt an active

stance of opposition but tried, without exposing themselves, not to cooperate with the junta. In actual fact, that is a very unsteady and complex position. I realize that you are speaking of the highest state interests and, so to speak, I do not have the right, so to speak, to doubt you as I have nothing to do with such work. But nevertheless, all the noble issues aside, you nevertheless got into a situation in which, like Gorbachev, you remain afloat in any situation.

[Kravchenko] Sasha, since I was appointed chairman of Gosteleradio last November, and up until today, I am in such a situation. Now, it's true, I am the former chairman of that company, of that Gosteleradio since Yeltsin's decree. Well, since that time I have not had a single calm or happy day. I do not want to reproach Mikhail Sergeyevich about anything today. But I have to say that I returned to something that I love, that I really love, television, and two notions struggled in my soul. The first was that I was doing what I loved and the second was: I am going there at such a time, at a time of terrible political confrontations, when there is a real war between various forces going on over radio and television. And I saw no way to restrain it except to try to stand somewhere in the middle, and not welcome either the one extremism or the other. Well, that idea is well known, I have spoken about it many times.

But in that sense I have always consistently kept to Gorbachev's position. But that didn't make it any easier.

[Lyubimov] What you have said shows, I think, that the choice of work for a manager, as determined by fate, is rather difficult. One way or another, at the television at this time, in particular, you get into a situation where your political choice goes against your human one. So why work in those positions if they distort your soul like that?

[Kravchenko] I share this view, not only because all this has happened now—it is a terrible disaster—but I have shared this view for some eight months. And if you were to interview my wife now here, she would tell you that for a long, long time she would have been happy if Kravchenko lost his job, in any conceivable or inconceivable way, if they took away his job, because I am not at home, it means working till late, it means working under constant fire...

[Lyubimov, interrupting] So why did you wait for eight months? You could have resigned. No one would have...

[Kravchenko] That's the point. I was also educated under the system. And then, I happen to be a disciplined person. As these events have shown, this is not entirely a virtue. I have wondered myself about this. For me, it's not just a matter of it being a military order or command. I'm simply a normally disciplined person.

But suppose I had not been trusted with the very important post at such a time, a time of great political confrontations? As it turned out I was up to it. Not as a personality good at making people work and undertake

things, but as a professional! In the sense of being a person who really knows television well—I hope you agree with this—and who has always done something to help it really improve.

This was what was being counted on in the final selection of my candidacy, when it was on my figure that Mikhail Sergeyevich actually alighted. And this afforded some satisfaction because I felt myself involved in the main events in the country. I at least made efforts so that we did not shift strongly to the right or the left but should move to the center.

[Lyubimov] Gorbachev also said that.

[Kravchenko] It is my sincere position. I am convinced today that in this sense I acted correctly in trying to. Well, it didn't work. Many things have not worked out for me. I was just so tired at that time that about a month ago what we call the moral principle and simply the elementary human sense had already got the upper hand over what is called state duty.

[Lyubimov] How do you see your future in the next few months?

[Kravchenko] Well, I think the coming week will be rather difficult for me because the investigation will be on. I am sure that people will also be found who will insist and demand that all my complicity be cleared up, that it be determined whether I and others are implicated. That is all rather painful and tormenting in this situation. And naturally, since I am on leave and in such a situation on vacation I have simply not yet thought about how my future will shape up.

TASS Reviews 19 Sep Central Press

LD1909075391 Moscow TASS in English 0608 GMT
19 Sep 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—A Russian Federation parliament session, beginning today, is one of the principal topics of newspapers in the Soviet capital.

PRAVDA believes that "there will be keen debates and the stake is extremely high: whether the Russian parliamentarians will remain the acknowledged leaders and lawmakers in the true sense of the word or executive structures that have greatly gained in strength in recent weeks will press down on the parliament."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT GAZETTE) is of the opinion that "an inevitable conflict between Russia's president with his new structures and a democratic majority in parliament, the conflict that has been thoroughly concealed up to now, will develop at the session into a "phase of overt confrontation".

The outcome of a "heavy battle" lying ahead "is predetermined", the newspaper believes, since "the laws created by the legislators about the president and his

election, in conjunction with the absolute legitimacy of the assumption of office by Boris Yeltsin and his immense popularity constrain in advance all anti-Yeltsin moves by parliament".

The INDEPENDENT GAZETTE also admits that, according to expert opinion, many decrees issued by the president of Russia "do not conform to the laws of the USSR, and to those of the Russian Federation either".

The press continues to comment on this week's meeting of the Council of State. PRAVDA has taken a rather skeptical view of the optimistic estimates, made at the meeting by Ivan Silayev, of prospects for the food situation in the country.

"Winter is coming and no one properly knows what the food situation will be," the newspaper writes. According to PRAVDA, slightly more than 30 million tonnes of grain—only 40 per cent of the state-placed order—has been procured by the state by the middle of this month. Collective and state farms are not in a hurry to fill the state-placed order and keep grain for themselves. There are huge queues for bread in some cities.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN (RURAL LIFE) focuses on a sharp decrease in the delivery of farm machinery to the countryside and the soaring of machinery cost this year, as a result of which collective and state farms have to additionally pay 80 billion roubles for it.

With such an approach, the newspaper believes, next year "will be still more hunger-prone because collective and state farms that have fallen out of favour will reduce the stock of cattle and poultry and crop areas still further".

Newspapers give prominence to a tense situation in Georgia. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports that yet another political opponent of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia—Georgiy Haindrava, a professional cine cameraman—has been arrested in Tbilisi.

According to the newspaper, Haindrava's "guilt" is that he recorded on a video cassette the dispersal of the September 2 rally in the Georgian capital.

Almost the entire personnel of television are on strike in Tbilisi and Georgian-language television programmes have been discontinued, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA adds.

The INDEPENDENT GAZETTE carries an interview with Georgiy Chanturia, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Georgia, several hours prior to his arrest during an attempt to leave by air for Moscow. The current situation in the republic is described in an interview as a "peaceful democratic revolution". It is also pointed out that the arrested Chanturia has gone on a hunger strike.

Newspapers report a mild heart attack suffered by Russia's President Boris Yeltsin. At the same time they

maintain that his health does not give rise to apprehensions and his trip to Nagorno-Karabakh, scheduled for next Friday, has not been cancelled so far.

It is reported that Ivan Silayev has resigned as the Russian premier in view of his being appointed the chairman of the Inter-republican Economic Committee.

The INDEPENDENT GAZETTE believes that this resignation is an enforced one, explaining it by President Yeltsin's decree on the Russian government's becoming directly accountable to him.

PRAVDA carries an interview with Grigoriy Marakutsa, the leader of the group of deputies of the Dnestr region, who held meetings in Moscow with the leadership of the country and the Russian Federation, conveying an address by the 750,000-strong population of the region to the USSR Council of State in a request to recognise the Dnestr Moldavian Republic as a sovereign independent state within a renewed union. "We shall strictly abide by our voters' will and by the current legislation," Marakutsa emphasised.

Among foreign topics the press singles out primarily reports on the situation in Yugoslavia. It is emphasised that, notwithstanding all efforts to achieve a ceasefire, combat actions are being continued there.

All newspapers report that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have been admitted to the United Nations Organisation.

Economic

Silayev To Head Interrepublic Economic Committee

PM1809212191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Sep 91 Union Edition pp 1 2

[Report by V. Romanyuk: "Ivan Silayev Will Head Interrepublic Economic Committee"]

[Text] I. Silayev, leader of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, announced his new appointment to journalists before beginning the meeting with U.S. Treasury Secretary N. Brady, who is in the USSR as a guest of the Soviet Government.

Replying to IZVESTIYA's question on his possible retirement from the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, I. Silayev said:

"This question was examined at the State Council session 16 September. In view of the fact that all the presidents and all the chairmen of the republic Supreme Soviets and members of the State Council, including B. Yeltsin, supported my transfer to a permanent post, I had no reason to refuse this job."

[Romanyuk] Does that mean that the committee will work on a permanent basis and will no longer be a temporary organ?

[Silayev] These are different things. Today the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy is functioning, but Article 5 of the law adopted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies talks about organizing a permanent body. There is no reason to call this a change of name. A new structure is being created and the legal basis of its formation will be new. The new organ will have broader functions than the committee, including in the foreign economic sphere. As for the management committee—it performs a concrete task and will continue functioning until the signing of the economic agreement and the creation of new management structures.

[Romanyuk] Will you retain the post of chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers meanwhile?

[Silayev] I do not think that it would be logical. How is it possible to combine two such lofty posts?

[Romanyuk] Can you see a successor to you in this post?

[Silayev] I can, but I am not going to say yet.

[Romanyuk] Will it be one of the committee members?

[Silayev] Why not? [Silayev ends]

Does the government intend enlisting foreign businessmen in the real management of our economy and in participation in management structures? I. Silayev believes that there is a big difference here—taking part in the development of the economy or in management. Questions of cooperation and consultation are a natural area of government activity. We have already repeatedly resorted to expert assessments by Western specialists and intend to do this in the future, too. But we shall manage the economy independently, he said.

Now for Western aid, which our country needs. As for humanitarian aid, that is given primarily by social organizations. The second form of aid is linked with food purchases, which our population needs. These goods are first and foremost grain, sugar, and vegetable oil. As for consumer goods, we need medicines and children's clothing. I. Silayev noted what he considers an important but still underrated reserve of ours—the opening up of our economic borders and the granting to foreign firms of favorable opportunities for the import of consumer goods into the country. But for that the existing laws have to be changed. I. Silayev added here that he put forward such a proposal when working in the Ryzhkov government.

This question now needs prompt examination.

Then I. Silayev met with U.S. Treasury Secretary N. Brady. During the conversation, in which A. Volskiy and G. Yavlinskiy, the committee's deputy leaders, took part, the sides examined a broad range of questions relating to economic cooperation between the USSR and the United States. The treasury secretary was informed about progress in the preparation of the Treaty on Economic Union and note was made of the desire of the

sovereign republics to form relations on the basis of the preservation of the single economic space, which offers, in particular, opportunities for more active economic cooperation between our countries. The U.S. side's report on the U.S. Administration's readiness to give the USSR humanitarian aid to support the democratic transformations and the reform of the Soviet economy on market principles was received with satisfaction. The Soviet side stressed that the radical transformation of Soviet society and the acceleration of the process of reforms place on the agenda questions of broad help from the United States, other G-7 countries, and international financial organizations to the Soviet Union in a crucial period in its history.

Questions of the normalization of Soviet-U.S. trade and economic relations and USSR-U.S. credit and financial cooperation were also discussed.

After the meeting, I. Silayev and N. Brady answered journalists' questions. Both said that the adoption of global solutions was not the task today. The normal technological process of talks and cooperation is in motion. At the same time, I. Silayev stressed, the Soviet side has asked for the transfer of 900 million [currency not specified] of a credit of 1.5 billion, 500 million of which is due to be given in October and 400 million in March next year, to be speeded up. An accord has now been reached whereby a credit of 375 million has been switched from October to September and the possibility of bringing forward to September all the credit due in October is being assessed. As for the "March tranche," this question is being examined.

The issue concerns credits for the purchase of food. In addition, an accord has been reached on the visit to Moscow of a large group of experts from the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to enable these organizations to obtain necessary information more quickly and resolve the questions of our cooperation more quickly too.

Yavlinskiy Says Economic Treaty Completed Soon

LD1809221491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] The treaty on an economic union among the republics could be prepared within a month or a month and a half. This view has been voiced by well-known Soviet economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, who, together with his colleagues, has been working on the project. A few days ago the USSR State Council approved the document as a basis for the future treaty. Grigoriy Yavlinskiy said that it is also necessary to prepare a package of agreements among members of the union and approve a program of action to emerge from the crisis. The economist believes that if the union is based on correct principles a certain financial recovery and stabilization of prices could be expected in a year or a year and a half.

Stabilization Program 'Will Work'

PM1809133991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 14 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by Yevgeniya Pishchikova: "Yavlinskiy: No Longer a Crisis"]

[Text] The situation needs to be regarded roughly in the same as Professor Preobrazhenskiy regarded the collapse in Bulgakov's "Heart of a Dog": Stop singing revolutionary songs during worktime.

At the latest press conference organized by the USSR Foreign Ministry press center the questions put to [Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR Economy Deputy Chairman Grigoriy] Yavlinskiy divided into two types: Representatives of the Soviet press asked: "When will we enjoy a better life?", while the foreigners were interested by another aspect of the problem: "How much will it cost us?"

To his "own" journalists Yavlinskiy replied: "I don't know." To the Westerners—"Depends how much you give."

The Interstate Economic Committee, the Economic Council Board of Arbitration, and the Banking Council will be the coordinating organs in the USSR after the signing of the economic treaty. For the time being, however, operational management of the economy consists in saving transrepublic economic ties from complete collapse and drawing up the bases of an anticrisis program, the provisions of which the governments and parliaments of all the entities making up the future federation must agree.

In Yavlinskiy's opinion, the most difficult task in store for the committee is combating the political ambitions of the republics, a certain section of which is sure that it is better to deal with economic and other difficulties on your own. The friends do not want to link arms, nor do they intend to fail. Yavlinskiy is certain that the governments which have gone for the economic isolation option are taking on a heavy responsibility to the peoples who given them their trust—he knows of four republics which can survive without the Union—but in any event they will gain nothing compared with those republics which choose the path of consolidation.

Which economic stabilization program will be chosen as the most effective—Yavlinskiy's own, Shatalin's, or Saburov's? Grigoriy Alekseyevich commented that it is necessary to choose not the program which leads to the signing of the treaty more quickly, but the one where the professional proposals, even if tough, have been most fully and competently elaborated. The conclusion could have been drawn from Yavlinskiy's answer that he sees one of the competing programs as a good and admirable document about cooperation which it is impossible to improve in any way, whereas the other is inadequately detailed.

Specially for the Western journalists Yavlinskiy announced the economic indicators for the last six months: a slump in production of 15-16 percent and inflation of 2-3 percent per week.

Yavlinskiy wound up the press conference by reporting that the economic stabilization program will work even if Russia is the only republic that agrees to it.

On Chance for Economic Turnaround

LD1909151291 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT
19 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—"At the moment it is too early to speak about an economic union or even about a treaty between republics as a reality," Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, a member of the Soviet economic management committee, said in an interview published in the latest issue of the MOSCOW NEWS newspaper. The USSR State Council has adopted the basic principles of the draft treaty on inter-republican economic union, which was developed by his group.

"If everything goes normally, the treaty itself could be prepared within thirty or 45 days. As regards the text, this term is more or less real," Yavlinskiy said. "A package of agreements between the members of the union needs to be elaborated in addition to it and a programme of action to haul the country out of crisis adopted. It is likewise necessary that a team (management bodies), which would be trusted by the members of the union, should be formed. Taken together, this will evidently take three to four months."

Asked about the terms for the recovery of the economy itself, Yavlinskiy said: "If we lay down the principles of the union knowledgably, economic recovery will occur in a year or a year and a half," he emphasised he meant "some financial recovery and at least relative price stabilisation."

Speaking about directions in further activity to sign the treaty, Yavlinskiy said "plenipotentiary delegations from the republics will be formed to work on the treaty, and the economic management committee will evidently be replaced with an inter-republican economic committee."

Yavlinskiy did not rule out the possibility that even the signed treaty may not be fulfilled. In this case like in concluding an unworkable union or discarding it altogether, the country will have "to experience economic and social difficulties which can still be avoided," Yavlinskiy said.

Economy Committee Views Financial Problems

LD1809174491 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1636 GMT 18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (TASS)—Today's sitting of the Committee for Operational Management of National Economy was chaired by Ivan Silayev.

Provisionally four questions were on the agenda. The first one—on the use of cash payments received for export of goods and services by the Union-republican convertible currency fund in the current month. The methods of restructuring the system of humanitarian aid, problems of the press, and book publishing will also be examined. Discussion of the first and, in my opinion, the most important question has started with the report made by Stepan Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the Union-republican currency committee. But at the beginning of his address the journalists were asked to leave the premises.

However, we have managed to get some information. In connection with the general economic decline the foreign credits have assumed special importance. At the beginning of the year the shortage of currency was 10 billion rubles [R]. As a result, the total sum of the credits drawn is now R13 billion. "It was long and hard work to get this money," Sitaryan admitted. He reported that the largest part of the financial credits—1.8 billion convertible rubles—has been used. What remains is 400 million. Credits for goods have been almost exhausted. By the end of the year the country will receive 6 million tonnes of grain, nearly 400,000 tonnes of meat, and about 1,200 tonnes of butter. Supplies of fodder, wool, cold-rolled sheet metal, and chemicals for light industry will also be delivered.

Finance Ministry Attacked Over Budget Report

PM1809153991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by V. Romanyuk: "The Collapse of the Union Budget Means the Failure of the Center's Policy"]

[Text] On Friday 13 September 1991 the Committee for the Operational Management of the Country's National Economy examined and unanimously rejected the report submitted by the USSR Ministry of Finances on the state of the Union budget.

I do not think that the committee members were put off by the depressing picture painted by V. Rayevskiy, USSR deputy minister of finances. The speakers drew attention to the fact that, in giving a picture of the, in point of fact, critical state of the Union finances, the Union Ministry of Finances confined itself to statements and failed to submit a real program for surmounting the crisis.

The situation is as follows. After signing the economic agreement for 1991, many republics adopted decisions changing the procedure for forming the Union budget, particularly in the sphere of the distribution of profit, while some altogether stopped payments for Union programs of various kinds. As a result, today there is a shortfall of as much as 138 billion rubles [R] in the revenue part of the Union budget, and the budget deficit has already reached R144 billion compared with the R26 billion approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet. And this is not yet the final figure.

The economic stabilization fund outside the budget has also proved insolvent: Of the intended R60 billion, the republics have transferred to it just R6 billion.. And they do not intend to do this any more.

To what do the proposals of the USSR Ministry of Finances amount in this critical situation? They are rather of a cosmetic nature. The Ministry of Finances intends to reduce appropriations for scientific research work and to lower subsidies to loss-making enterprises. And here is what it proposes as emergency measures: as of 1 October, to stop funding projects on the territory of republics which do not make payments into the Union budget; to go over to direct credit for projects that are the republics' responsibility; to oblige the USSR State Bank to provide credit for the Union budget deficit from centralized funds in accordance with the actual discrepancy between expenditure and expenditure [as published], with this being regarded as the sum total of the national debt, i.e. to turn once again to loan funds, pushing the state further toward bankruptcy.

The republics' representatives pointed out in their speeches that the USSR Ministry of Finances did not find time to analyze the classes of expenditure in the budget. For even today, on the verge of financial ruin, the defense complex snatches 35 percent of the Union budget. And this is only the direct expenditure—there is also "indirect" expenditure. Incidentally, against the background of the overall fall in production, the defense complex alone is showing stable growth. Its leading category—weapons production—devours R40 billion, and no one dares to halt this hellish conveyor belt, not even in the name of saving his own people. The budget includes the subhead "Other Expenditure"—R26 billion. At the same time it is proposed, according to the main speaker himself, V. Rayevskiy, to "sever links"—to reduce expenditure on scientific research.

Committee Chairman I. Silayev remarked that the present situation with the Union budget reflects the atmosphere in which it has always been adopted: while ignoring the republics' interests, in favor of the center's ambitious projects, and with priority going to the militarized sector of the economy. The collapse of the Union budget is not a result of the breakdown in the economy but the outcome of the center's unitary policy. The USSR Ministry of Finances was reproached for not raising its voice when the sham budget was being approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet. But, of course, this is not the point. The Union budget will become real when the republics themselves compile and approve it. Incidentally, this is the approach that has been adopted for the elaboration of the emergency budget for the fourth quarter of the year. The strategy is as follows: The classes of expenditure associated with the consumer sector remain inviolable. The rest must be carefully

examined with the participation of the ministers of finances of all the republics.

The report by the USSR Ministry of Finances and its proposals were deemed untenable. At the same time this proposal was even made: Since the USSR Ministry of Finances is incapable of controlling the Union budget, should we not end budget funding for the USSR Ministry of Finances itself? The saving, though small, will be real.

Ozherelyev on Economic Problems, Prospects

LD1809172591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1651 GMT 18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Zenkovich]

[Text] Moscow, 19th Sep (TASS)—Inflation in the Soviet Union has been increasing by 2 percent every week during the last two months. This was reported by Oleg Ozherelyev, USSR president's aide on economic issues, in a conversation with a TASS correspondent.

However, in the president's aide's words, the results of the recent sitting of the country's State Council inspire some optimism. The majority of its members spoke in favor of the conclusion of an economic agreement as soon as possible. "If it is concluded, Western countries will have an opportunity to render assistance to the Soviet Union because, finally, it will be clear to them who they should deal with", the economist noted. In his opinion this help will, to some extent, make it possible to compensate for the decline of production in the country.

"The threat of the further destruction of economic ties remains", O. Ozherelyev said. But the USSR president and the majority of members of the State Council understand that there is no other way apart from creating the single economic space.

Text of Statement Adopted by Central Bank Leaders

PM1809131791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Sep 91 p 1

[“Joint Statement Adopted at Conference of Leaders of Central (National, State) Banks”]

[Text] Mindful of their responsibility for ensuring the stability of the monetary system and protecting the property interests of the population, the Central Banks state their desire to conduct a coordinated monetary and credit policy within the ruble area. The sides do not deem it possible to prevent one another introducing national currencies on their own territories or adopting other measures dictated by a republic's economic interests. However, the mutual commitments arising here are subject to coordinated regulation by the sovereign states.

To conduct a coordinated policy the central banks see the need to create a coordinating body which enjoys the trust of the sovereign states. The legal status and the mechanism for forming this body can be defined by a

special interbank agreement. An accord on starting work on a draft agreement has been reached.

It is planned that the draft agreement will define the principles of collaboration among the central banks in conducting a coordinated monetary and credit policy based on the collective elaboration of decisions and the obligation for all sides to carry them out. In the period prior to the conclusion of the interbank agreement it is deemed expedient that operational management of the credit and banking system be carried out on a collective basis with the participation of the leaders of the central (national, state) banks of the sovereign republics and the USSR State Bank. In constructing the new mechanism of monetary and credit regulation the sides proceed from the necessity of maintaining continuity in the discharge of their commitments.

Moscow, 11 September 1991.

Economic Union Without Political Conditions Viewed

PM1809151191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Article by G. Yastrebtsov: “Soros Believes Gorbachev Made Big Mistake”]

[Text] George Soros, one of the leaders of U.S. business, has noted that “Gorbachev's big mistake was that he was unable to realize that political change is a necessary but insufficient condition for economic change...” It is hard to disagree. The country has taken a huge step forward in the political sphere recently. But, as for the economy, one need only glance at our empty store shelves to see the regrettably depressing response.

The war of laws and the parade of sovereignties about which so much has been said and written have done their job: The Union no longer exists in its previous form. The former Soviet republics and now sovereign states are exultant. However, while declaring their independence, they are continuing to live in a single economic space, where chaos and confusion rule. This situation is causing panic inside the country, and foreign businessmen who are prepared to invest in our economy and start opening up the vast Soviet market are understandably concerned. According to foreign radio reports, the U.S. Government has guaranteed a loan to the Soviet Union but the banks are in no rush to lend the money, fearing the intensification of the political unrest and economic chaos in our country. Bank representatives are shrugging their shoulders: It is not clear to them just who in our country has the authority to conclude agreements or assume legal commitments.

At a September session of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy there was a heated debate over the question of ways of paying off foreign credits. Such credits have already been provided by around 15 countries. But they were given to the Union—and it is collapsing before our very eyes. As of 1 January 1992 the center will no longer be responsible for

the republics' credit commitments. That is enshrined in the joint action program adopted by the governments of the USSR and the sovereign republics to get the country's economy out of crisis. What should we do? We should propose two options for solving the credit problem. The first is that the republics will receive loans independently and be responsible for them on the basis of commitments they enter into. The second option is that the republics can band together to attract foreign credits and repay them on a joint basis.

In general this choice of options when examining political and economic problems is a typical feature of our time. Thus, three plans are currently staking a claim to be the program for cooperation between the sovereign states within the single economic space. Their authors are Stanislav Shatalin, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, and Yevgeniy Saburov. We will be familiarizing readers with the most interesting provisions of these programs. For the time being we will restrict ourselves to the fact that our leading economists are emphasizing the speediest development of market relations, the preservation of existing economic links between enterprises located on different states' territories, free enterprise, and the country's incorporation in the world economy.

Economic union without political conditions—is it possible in our troubled age, when interethnic conflicts are flaring up here and there, when there is nothing to buy in the stores, when market prices frighten people, and when a hard winter lies ahead and many thousands of people are without work?

August Economic Performance Reviewed

PM1809193191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by V. Romanyuk: "The Country in August: Before and After the Putsch"]

[Text] Let us note straightaway that the events of 19-21 August 1991 had no significant effect on the results of the Union's economic activities. People went to rallies and demonstrations, and enterprises, transport, and state institutions worked at their usual slow pace. And afterward there was impressively widespread enthusiasm at the triumph of democracy which has not yet been translated into enthusiasm for work.

The state of contract discipline got no better or worse in August. Over this month, suppliers' backlog increased by 3.7 billion rubles [R] and since the start of the year it has reached R24.4 billion (1.4 times greater than in the first eight months of 1990). Delivery shortfalls comprised 2.3 percent of the total volume of production in industry, over 5 percent of the total volume of production in metallurgy and the chemical industry, and 3.8 percent of the total volume of production in the timber and wood processing industry. Owing to a lack of material resources 800 enterprises experienced lengthy stoppages in August, and the worktime and output losses totaled 1 million man-days and R300 million.

Let us take the most objective indicator—the average daily production of industrial output. While it was 5.4 percent down on year's level according to the seven-month results, it was 6 percent down in August (as against August 1990). In the opinion of V. Tolkushkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics], August brought no substantial changes in any sector's work. Even in the fuel and energy complex, where certain mines went on strike. Both in August and according to the eight-month results, the overall drop in coal extraction was 11 percent (against the corresponding period last year), including a 20-percent drop in the extraction of coking coal. Oil extraction fell by 10 percent. Since the beginning of the year we have extracted a total of 52 million tonnes less coal and 38 million tonnes less oil than we had extracted by the same date last year. An alarming statistic! Especially on the threshold of winter, when fuel reserves should be created everywhere. These sectors' ailments are well known: a shortage of material and technical resources, a reduction in investments, and the increasing cost of construction, as a result of which the introduction of new capacities is being delayed, while on the other hand the number of idle mines is multiplying and an increasing number of oil wells is being taken out of operation.

The next link in the chain is metallurgy. In the first eight months, the production of rolled ferrous metals was down by 12 percent (9 million tonnes). There was a corresponding decrease in the production of metal-intensive articles: 13 percent fewer tractors, 11 percent fewer combine harvesters, 13 percent fewer mainline freight cars and trucks; and production of metal-cutting machine tools fell to a lesser extent—by 7 percent.

An alarming point is that a decline is occurring in many raw material sectors, and it even intensified in August. For instance, according to the eight-month results, production of sulfuric acid decreased by 10 percent, including a 15-percent decrease in August, and production of caustic soda decreased by 7 and 10 percent respectively. Light industry received 16 percent less chemical fibers and yarns and as much as one-third less linen fibers and natural wool, and that means that there will be less textiles, clothing, and footwear. Production of lumber dropped 14 percent—that means there will be fewer summerhouses and new buildings in general.

Worst of all in the consumer sector is the situation at food counters. Apart from bread, flour, and pasta articles—We are still living on last year's harvest!—output of the most important food products (wholemilk products, meat, and butter) is down—by 10-13 percent.

For a long time we have been noting a more or less stable state in the production of cultural, everyday, and household articles. The eight-month results brought a meager increase of 3-6 percent in the production of tape recorders, electric vacuum cleaners, cameras, and clocks and watches; output of refrigerators and freezers has remained at last year's level. The number of televisions produced was 3 percent down and the number of sewing

machines 8 percent down on the same time last year, and the shortage of automobiles, bicycles, and motorcycles has gotten worse.

There remain considerable shortages in the production of goods in everyday demand and essentials. Once again there was a fall of 17-20 percent in the production of synthetic detergents and household and toilet soap, of 8 percent in the production of school exercise books, and of 5 percent in the production of papirosy [traditional Russian cigarettes] and cigarettes (the number of cigarettes and papirosy received by smokers was 10 billion down on last year).

The August wholesale price level exceeded last August's prices by a factor of 2.5 (the retail price level doubled). The proportion of contract, free prices increased from 20 percent at the start of the year to 50 percent in August. The rise in prices, for wool for example, has already led to price hikes for products processed from it (by a factor of 1.5) and in the future will have an effect on prices of finished woolen articles.

After the transition in July to contract prices in the sectors producing copper and aluminum, the electrical equipment industry has "responded." While prices for electrical articles increased by 1.5-2 percent a month in the first half-year, they leapt 16 percent in July and another 15 percent in August. As we can see, everything in the economy is interdependent: Ill-considered priorities for some sectors are turning into an increase in prices in others.

'Elimination' of Turkmen Trade Unions Criticized

914A1188C Moscow TRUD in Russian
11 Sep 91 p 2

[Unattributed article: "A Call for Prudence"]

[Text] The chairmen of the central and republic committees of the Trade Union of Construction and the Construction Materials Industry Employees from the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Moldova, Armenia, and the Ukraine have viewed with concern the actions taken by the Federation of Trade Unions of Turkmenia, which are aimed at the actual elimination of sectoral trade unions, including the republic Trade Union of Construction and the Construction Materials Industry Employees, have condemned them, and believe that the measures run counter to fundamental documents adopted by the 19th Trade Union Congress and international conventions on trade union rights and freedoms. They view these actions as an infringement of legitimate rights and as restricting the operation of trade unions.

We express our confidence, says a telegram sent to Ashkhabad by the chairmen of the central and republic committees, that the federation will reconsider its position which, among other things, tramples on the rights of

the republic committee of the Trade Union of Construction and the Construction Materials Industry Employees, and will let it freely perform statutory functions in defending the interests of trade union members in Turkmenia.

EDITORIAL NOTE: Concern about the future of the sectoral trade unions of the republic caught in the clutches of structural transformations originated by the republic trade union center has been expressed repeatedly in articles from Turkmenia which have appeared in TRUD in recent months. According to the latest reports from Turkmenia a number of sectoral trade union committees—of construction workers, motor vehicle operators, and chemical industry workers—resolutely oppose attempts to encroach upon their legitimate rights. It is hoped that solidarity shown by colleagues from other republics will help them to defend the process of democratizing the life of trade unions that began a year ago.

Military

General Lobov Examines Defense Ministry Tasks

PM1809152091 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian
17 Sep 91 p 13

[Interview with General Lobov, Armed Forces Chief of General Staff, by Enrico Franceschini in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpts] Moscow—The world was assailed by doubt during the days of the August coup. Anatoliy Chernyayev—Gorbachev's adviser, who was also imprisoned in the dacha in the Crimea—said on his return to Moscow that the putschists had taken the president's "black case": the "portable" command center with the codes for launching a nuclear attack, which follows the Kremlin leader wherever he goes. But Chernyayev was not sure that they knew how to use it. Did the authors of the coup have the power to unleash a nuclear war?

"I can only say that nothing alarming happened," said General Vladimir Lobov, the Soviet Armed Forces' new chief of general staff. "The officials who are supposed always to stay close to the president, even in a situation of this kind, did what they were supposed to," the general said. "Nothing was taken from them. The 'black case' stayed with whoever was supposed to have it." [passage omitted]

[Franceschini] General Lobov, there is talk of a radical reform of the Armed Forces, with their command being entrusted to civilians instead of Red Army generals and marshals...

[Lobov] It is a vital necessity. The defense minister must be a civilian, as in the United States, as in the other democratic countries. The Defense Ministry's command

must be subdivided between civilians and military personnel. Civilians will have political control, while military personnel will deal solely with the things that they know how to do.

[Franceschini] Does the reform of the Armed Forces also signify a professional army, no longer drafted?

[Lobov] For the immediate future I have in mind a mixed army, both professional and drafted, as a transitional stage toward an entirely professional army. But it will take some years, and it is easy to see why. It is impossible to create a voluntary, professional army right away; it is necessary to prepare people, to see how the troops respond.

[Franceschini] Some people fear that the army will be too small to defend such a huge country as yours...

[Lobov] I understand this concern, but I do not share it. It is prompted by our unilateral reductions of conventional forces. But we must be honest. The geographical distance between the USSR and the United States is huge. Let us be clear about this, once and for all: The American army on U.S. territory represents no real threat to us. As for the alarm prompted by operation "Desert Storm," by America's ability to transport 300,000 men from the United States to Saudi Arabia in a very brief space of time, I can guarantee that the USSR would be perfectly capable of mustering the same number of forces in the same space of time. So we need an army for defense, to protect our homeland. Also, nuclear parity must be maintained. Nuclear weapons are the most effective deterrent against war, we believe, and this is the Americans' opinion too.

[Franceschini] Having declared independence, the USSR's republics are requesting their own armies, while remaining part of the Union. Do you agree with this?

[Lobov] I am in favor of a very small national guard of 3,000-4,000 men in each republic. A sovereign, independent state must have such a force to avert such things as the recent coup, to protect the president of each republic and his respective government. Furthermore, a national guard would also serve ceremonial purposes, when parades have to be held. But it cannot perform policing tasks. Believe me, I do not want to interfere in your internal affairs, but I visited Italy recently and saw that there were carabinieri at every crossroad. In the morning I would step outside my hotel room and there would be seven carabinieri guarding me. Well, I do not think that our republics should use the national guard like that. The idea of creating proper republican armies is destabilizing. The Soviet Army cannot be divided up. The more individual armies there are, the greater the threat of a bloody ethnic conflict. Try and imagine what would happen in Armenia and Azerbaijan each had an army... Not to mention nuclear weapons. If each republic were to control those deployed on its territory, there would be a very much greater risk of their unauthorized use or of an accident capable of unleashing an apocalypse. What shall we do; start negotiating everything again from

scratch? That would take years and years. No, the nuclear forces must remain under a central Union command, and they will remain so.

[Franceschini] Will you withdraw all your forces from the Baltic, now that it is independent?

[Lobov] We are discussing it with Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. There will be negotiations to decide which forces will remain for a temporary period and which perhaps permanently.

[Franceschini] A purge of the Armed Forces senior command is under way. How many accessories to or supporters of the coup were there in the military?

[Lobov] They were in an absolute minority. The mass of the Army did not participate in the coup d'etat in any way.

[Franceschini] Why did Marshal Akhromeyev, Gorbachev's military adviser, commit suicide immediately after the failure of the coup?

[Lobov] God only knows. The Lord gives us life, and the Lord takes it away.

[Franceschini] Why was the coup so badly organized?

[Lobov] Probably because the putschists lacked conviction about what they were doing, because they could not even depend on the people to whom they issued their criminal orders. Last, because the Army defends the people, and the people know what kinds of actions are anti-people.

[Franceschini] General, your parents were peasants. Why did you choose a military career?

[Lobov] I did my military service, and when I finished I decided to stay in the Army. You see, there were 32 houses in my home village. Each household lost people during the war. I saw people crying in every house. My mother had nine brothers, eight of them went to war, and only three returned. I saw my family's tears. All this remained inside me and perhaps contributed to my decision, bringing me to regard a career of service to the homeland as a duty.

[Franceschini] You are considered a reformist. What are your political ideals?

[Lobov] I am a soldier, not a politician. It is always said that soldiers should not get mixed up in politics, but they must do their duty and be honest with people. This is my policy. And my people are both the inhabitants of that village of 32 houses and the citizens of the whole of my multinational homeland. I will do my duty to them both as citizen and as soldier.

[Franceschini] Were you a CPSU member?

[Lobov] Yes, I was a party member...

[Franceschini] But did you support the cause of pere-stroyka from the outset?

[Lobov] I have always supported it very actively. The idea of the military reform was partly mine. I was the first to establish direct contacts with NATO—on instructions from our government, of course—when I was commander of the Warsaw Pact general staff.

[Franceschini] Is that why you were transferred to head the Frunze Military Academy?

[Lobov] I was not particularly pleased about the transfer. I was worried about it, of course. Nevertheless the academy trains cadres for the army of tomorrow, so there was a very important job to be done there too.

[Franceschini] What does the Armed Forces chief of general staff do in his free time, if any?

[Lobov] For the moment, he sleeps, in the few hours when he is not working. But sooner or later I hope to enjoy a little free time again, to experience the pleasure of being with my family and friends again. I love nature, walks in the woods, or by the river. My other hobby is reading. I like poetry; my favorite poet is Sergey Yesenin. To read him ennobles the mind. I also read the Italian classics—for instance, Giovanni Bocaccio, and Niccolo Macchiavelli, of course...

Interrepublic Military Discussions Reported

PM1809095991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Military correspondent V. Litovkin report: "Military Council in Arbat Takes a Break. Consultations Will Be Continued"]

[Text] Consultative meetings between Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense, Army General V. Lobov, chief of the General Staff, and the leaderships of all 15 sovereign republics and states went on for almost two full days. At these meetings there was a conversation, as we have already reported (No. 216), about the elaboration of coordinated ways of transforming the Army and Navy.

This conversation's importance and significance is evidenced by the fact that vice presidents, prime ministers, defense ministers, and chairmen of supreme soviet committees and commissions from the republics took part in the meetings at the Defense Ministry.

What did they manage to agree on?

Only one question was agreed, but it was the main one—control of strategic nuclear forces must remain united and centralized, and the country's Armed Forces must also be united.

There are many differences on the remaining problems. Virtually every republic and every delegation has its own position. Sometimes they coincide and sometimes they

are diametrically opposed. There is no space or opportunity to analyze them now, especially as the newspaper reports almost daily on the military questions being raised in sovereign states' parliaments.

I will say something about the most important thing—there is an understanding with the Ukrainian delegation that decisions on military questions will be made only after mutual consultations and mutual agreement. The Baltic states' wish for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from their territory was met with understanding. But it will be possible to do this in a civilized fashion. Defense Ministry leaders said, only after our Army's redeployment from European countries...

All 15 delegations expounded their positions. They were recorded in stenographic accounts of the meeting. The stenographic accounts and the Defense Ministry's proposals—which is over 60 pages of typed text—were distributed to the republics' leaderships. It was decided to continue the consultations and coordination of approaches to reforming the Army and Navy in Moscow, once again at the Defense Ministry building in Arbat Square, after these documents have been discussed by the supreme soviets.

The date of the second meeting has not yet been fixed.

Controversy Over Mutinous Submarine Detailed

91UM0842A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
29 Aug 91 Single Edition p 3

[Article by Captain 1st Rank V. Shirokov: "The Army Is Not a Place for Political Ambitions"]

[Text] The news of the incident in the Pacific Fleet, in which submarine executive officer Captain Lieutenant Medvedev took the boat, which was under repair, to sea without authorization, caused quite a stir among the public. This is what the newspaper IZVESTIYA reported in this connection on 24 August 1991. "The editors have learned from reliable sources that on the night of 21 August Captain Lieutenant Medvedev, executive officer on a submarine, took it to open sea without authorization. This happened immediately after the interview the putschists gave to Soviet and foreign media, which was broadcast in the Far East on a delayed basis... Medvedev came to shore and appealed to seamen to not obey the orders of the GKChP [State Committee for the State of Emergency]... What was Captain Lieutenant Medvedev's purpose? According to his statement, he intended to take the boat to sea and then broadcast a radio message to Boris Yeltsin stating his support for the Russian Government."

On 27 August, RIA distributed a release under the heading "The Pacific Fleet Command Provides Clarifications on the 'Mutinous Captain Affair.'" The release mentions, among other points, that "the Pacific Fleet Chief of Staff Vladimir Kalabin, in his appearance at the press conference, did not deny that the submarine under the command of Captain Lieutenant Andrey Medvedev

had been taken to sea as a protest against the putsch; at the same time, he stated: 'One does not do clean work with dirty hands.' According to the chief of staff, Medvedev had had four reprimands for drinking and debauchery; in 1987, he had been suspended from the position of executive officer. Kalabin also maintained that by his action the submarine commander (this is the RIA text.—V.Sh.), having taken to sea in a state of intoxication, had created a threat to the life of the 15 crew members who were on board instead of the normal complement of 73."

On 26 August, at the extraordinary session of the Maritime Kray Soviet of People's Deputies, the Pacific Fleet Commander, Admiral G. Khvatov emphasized that a submarine under repair is difficult to steer even for an experienced commander, let alone for a young officer who was in a state of alcoholic intoxication—which had been established by experts. It is not accidental that the majority of submariners present at the time had refused to take to sea on a boat that was in disrepair.

Here is, nevertheless, another release distributed by the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY: "Deputy V.

Cherepkov wanted to meet with Captain Lieutenant Medvedev, who is under a 10-day arrest for drunkenness. The latter refused, saying that he would be able to talk to the deputy only after he had met with the fleet commander, Admiral G. Khvatov..."

During the days of the coup, many people in the military had to face a difficult moral choice; the attitude toward their actions today varies. Medvedev's actions also evoke contradictory feelings. Some consider it a gross violation of military discipline, while others tend to put the officer on the same level as the heroes of the Moscow barricades. There is, however, one circumstance which was not reported by IZVESTIYA quite correctly. The point is that the boat hijacking was perpetrated by the executive officer not during the night of 21 August—as was reported—but on 22 August, when it was already clear that the coup had failed. This makes the actions that jeopardized the submarine and human lives all the more meaningless. But even this is not the main point. Today, many people share the idea that the Army is a special organism, in which there should be no place for egotistic ambitions and arbitrariness.

Baltic Affairs

Baltic News Service Operations, Origins Viewed

*LD1709211291 Tallinn Estonian Radio in English
2030 GMT 16 Sep 91*

[Interview with (Allan Martinson), chief of the Baltic News Service, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] How did you get the idea to start a new news agency?

[(Martinson)] Hard to say, (?because) I was just a student in Moscow and—a student of computer science at Moscow University [words indistinct] And, in the beginning of 1990, when the Baltic states just began the independence process, we just thought that maybe it is, it will be interesting for a foreign journalist in Moscow to get facts and firsthand information from the Baltic states, and we were just three students, and we started the agency. It was called Estonian News Service, and we started our daily news releases, and after several months we had about 50 or 60 subscribers among foreign correspondents in Moscow.

[Correspondent] And now this agency is called Baltic News Service, and the center is in Tallinn.

[(Martinson)] Yes, it's registered in Tallinn, but actually we have four bureaus, and every bureau has its own functions, and every bureau issues its own national product. For example, the Moscow bureau, in cooperation with Soviet independent news agency INTERFAX, issues a news bulletin in BALTFAX, and now it is delivered to 150 subscribers in Moscow and in the Soviet Union and to several tens of subscribers abroad. In Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania we also have our news bulletins in local languages—in Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian—and we supply main newspapers, radio, and television stations with our information.

[Correspondent] And how many correspondents are there in your agency?

[(Martinson)] We have about 40 people working in our firm, and they are not only correspondents, they are also editors, and technical workers, and so on. Now it's very hard to say who is correspondent, who is editor because we are universal people, and we must do and must know how to do all tasks we need to do in our agency.

[Correspondent] What languages are your working languages?

[(Martinson)] As I said, we issue four different products, and actually we have the BALTFAX news bulletin in Russian and in English. It's four times a day. And in Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian, of course. It means that we have five work languages.

[Correspondent] What are your main sources of information?

[(Martinson)] For the BALTFAX news bulletin we have, we receive information in our Moscow bureau from the bureaus in the Baltic republics, they receive their information from correspondents, the government press offices, from the Supreme Council, from contacts with officials, high and top officials, of course. So, on the other hand, we supply with information from the Soviet Union and other Baltic states our subscribers in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and we have also subscribed for several news agencies to receive their information and to compile our stories which are based on this information.

[Correspondent] What are your future plans?

[(Martinson)] It's very hard to predict because situations change very rapidly, and we have many plans, but I'm not sure that all of them will be implemented. I think that in the near future we will start our business news agency. We have planned to receive some new information products—weekly reviews, surveys, and so on.

Three Main Exchanges Establish Association

*OW1709190591 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1630 GMT 17 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The three leading exchanges of the Baltic states the "Lijetuvos Exchange", the "Tallinn International Exchange of Business Information" and the "Kalinin-grad Commodity and Stock Exchange" set up the Baltic Association of Exchanges in Vilnius September 17.

The main aim of the Association is to develop cooperation between the exchanges and to protect their rights and interests.

The Association has applied for membership in the European Federation of Exchanges.

Estonia

Savisaar Raises St. Petersburg 'Territorial' Issue

*OW1809191091 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1630 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and State Minister Raivo Vare are meeting today with Chairman of the Leningrad Regional Executive Committee Yuriy Yarovoi and Chairman of the St. Petersburg's City Council Aleksey Beliayev in the Estonian town of Narva-Joesuu.

According to the Estonian government press office, among other questions they will discuss the "territorial" issue.

As is known, on September 12 the Estonian Supreme Council canceled its previous resolutions approving the Soviet leadership's decision taken in 1945 to annex part of the Estonian territory to the Russian Federation's Leningrad and Pskov regions.

In the opinion of a BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent in Tallinn, Estonia has not yet determined an official position on the future of these territories. The radical forces demand the restoration of Estonia's borders of 1940. The treaty signed by Estonia and Russia in January, 1991, left the border issue open.

However, a BF's correspondent reports from St. Petersburg that residents of the Leningrad region adjacent to Estonia strongly opposes the return of the territories to Estonia. As a spokesman for the Leningrad region's leadership told BF, they are calling on the Russian authorities to resist to Tallinn's plans to have its territories back.

He also said that "the situation in this region is extremely tense now" and that it may grow into riots. In the near future the regions' leadership plans to call emergency sessions of local councils to urge Russian President Boris Yeltsin to preserve the Russian lands as part of the Russian Federation.

Russia-Estonia Border Accord Signed

*OW1809194291 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1900 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During a meeting in the Estonian town of Narva-Joesuu on the Russian-Estonian border today Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar, Chairman of the St. Petersburg City Council Aleksandr Beliayev and leader of the Leningrad regional executive committee Yuriy Yarevei signed a protocol recognizing that Estonia takes full control of its borders and customs posts.

The protocol points out that a joint Russian-Estonian commission to be formed by September 25 will work out new temporary rules for crossing Estonia's border. The two sides have also agreed to charge their financial bodies with preparing by October 10 temporary rules for controlling movement of funds.

Savisaar Supports Payment of USSR Debt

*PM1909094591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 18 Sep 91 p 2*

[TASS report: "We Are Assuming Debt"]

[Text] "Estonia must assume the payment of part of the USSR's foreign debt," the head of the republic's government, Edgar Savisaar, stated in parliament. In his opinion the size of the share of the debt payment depends on the degree to which the previously received

funds were channeled into credits for the Estonian economy. The size of the republic's debt, according to local press estimates, is in excess of 6 billion rubles.

Republic Economic Cooperation Talks in Tallinn

*LD1809225391 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network
in Estonian 1400 GMT 17 Sep 91*

[Text] The Estonian Government press service reports that a sixth conference of states' prime ministers and government representatives will take place from 19-20 September, within the Tallinn process. Under discussion will be issues connected with prospects for economic cooperation for USSR republics, independent republics, and the Baltic states. According to preliminary information there will be Lithuanian, Estonian, Ukrainian, Armenian, Moldovan, and Azerbaijani prime ministers taking part in the Tallinn conference, and Latvian, Russian, and Georgian deputy prime ministers. Government delegations are expected from other republics. The official opening of the conference will take place at 1500 on 19 September at Sakala center. A news conference will also take place there on Friday.

Bank President's Costly 'Incompetence' Cited

*LD1709185591 Moscow TASS in English 2209 GMT
16 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn September 16 TASS—Estonian Bank President Rein Otsason's professional incompetence can cost the republic half a million U.S. dollars, chairman of the bank's board Ants Veetyusme said today.

Veetyusme believes that Estonia will have to pay a 500,000-dollar penalty to western firms, which agreed to print the national currency—the Estonian Krona. The introduction of the new currency will now be postponed.

Recently, Otsason said he was planning to resign, after the parliament passed a law on foreign investments. Otsason believes the law undermines the sovereign Estonian Republic's future financial system.

Otsason said savings of the Estonian population might be used to repay the Republic's external debt to the Soviet Union. After the statement, [passage indistinct]

Council Accepts Resignation

*OW1809195291 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1900 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On September 19 the Estonian Supreme Council accepted the resignation of Rein Otsason, President of

the Bank of Estonia, after considering a request by the Bank of Estonia's Council to dismiss Mr. Otsasson, as well as his own application.

The Bank of Estonia filed the request to the republican parliament after Mr. Otsasson had decided to liquidate the Board of Hard Currency Operations of the Bank of Estonia and to transfer its functions to the Estonian Commercial Bank, dominated by the joint-stock company "Rout Kommerts" consisting of 4 people.

At the same time, the Bank of Estonia revoked the Estonian Commercial Bank's license to conduct hard currency operations.

Bread Shortages, Storage Problems Persist

LD1809202391

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian at 1700 GMT on 17 September broadcasts a six-minute report by correspondent Mati Kirotar on a shopping information session given to journalists by the Tallinn city government.

Kirotar says that there are problems with privatization especially regarding storage facility shortage; for example, there is only enough space for five days' supply of salt. Kirotar says that white bread lines are present and will continue as only half of the wheat flour supplies have been delivered. "But, at present, only every tenth Tallinner can buy white bread, and at the rate of just one loaf a day," thereby increasing black bread demand. There are difficulties with light bulbs, underwear, vodka, and many other goods as well, Kirotar notes. He concludes: "One could continue this list of what there is and what there isn't, and why there isn't, and a delivery date, but apart from answers stating that the shops cannot promise anything of substance, what can one say about the future if today there are shortages of everything?"

Latvia

Shaposhnikov, Godmanis on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

OW1809194591 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1900 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov arrived in Riga September 18. He has already met with Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis and members of the Latvian government. During the meeting the two sides discussed questions concerning Soviet troops stationed in Latvia. According to the Latvian government press office, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov was satisfied with the results of the meeting.

On September 17 Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov and Janis Peters, Latvia's permanent representative in Moscow, signed a protocol "On urgent measures in relation to Soviet troops in Latvia". It confirms that by January 1,

1992 all servicemen from Latvia will be dismissed from the Soviet Army if they so wish, all military commissariats and bases on Latvian territory will be transferred to the republic and a Soviet-Latvian joint commission will be set up to assess military installations located in Latvia.

Finnish Foreign Ministry Delegation Visits Riga

OW1809122291 Moscow BALTFAX in English
0945 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A delegation of the Finnish Foreign Ministry led by Assistant Secretary of State Mauri Eggert is on a business visit in Riga. The talks with deputies of the Latvian Foreign Minister Sandra Kalniete and Martins Virsis center around the appointment of a Finnish ambassador and the opening of an embassy in Riga at the beginning of October.

The Finnish side expressed readiness to help train Latvian diplomats.

An understanding was reached that in the near future a group of experts is to arrive in Latvia to revise Latvian-Finnish agreements signed between the two World Wars. Both sides feel they must be updated in view of the present political situation.

The Finnish minister of foreign trade is expected to arrive in Riga at the end of the week.

Economy Minister on United Baltic Economy

LD1809190491 Moscow TASS in English 1050 GMT
18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga September 18 TASS—The Baltic republics must form a single economic space without internal customs barriers. A common currency, like the European ECU, is also desirable. This Western view is shared by the Latvian Minister for the Economy Janis Aboltins, who told journalists here about the principles of Latvia's cooperation with foreign countries.

Aboltins warned against expectations that gold will be showered on the Baltic republics. "Technological assistance will be granted first and foremost, along with consultations connected with the elaboration of an economic reform programme. It will deal, primarily, with the transport services, trade, education and telecommunications. These areas of cooperation have already been agreed with a corresponding commission of the European market. Only after that will the problem of concrete credits come up. It will be solved jointly with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund and other organizations.

"The West's attitude to the Baltic republics," he noted, "depends directly on the observance of democratic principles in them. Foreigners must be given the right to purchase land as private property, but this process must be controlled by the state. Otherwise we will be unable to prove that we share the European approaches," Aboltins noted.

New Customs, Entry Rules Detailed

PM1709133991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Irina Litvinova: "Latvia: New Rules for Entry and Exit"]

[Text] Riga—The Latvian Council of Ministers has approved new Latvian customs rules, toughened registration, and ended the exchange of apartments outside the republic.

Henceforth, it is possible to export goods worth 300 rubles [R] from Latvia. Personal items and food necessary on the voyage are not counted. As for everything "above the 300" the customs has guaranteed the government that it will strictly observe the limit that has been adopted. In addition it is permitted to export 100 cigarettes and 1.5 liters of alcohol. When crossing Latvia's borders motorists are allowed to fill their tanks and take with them a further 20 liters of gasoline.

Now about entry. Registration of those entering from the former USSR has been halted until the adoption of a law on immigration. Exceptions have been made for Latvians and some other categories of the population.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Calls For Troop Withdrawal at UN

OW1809191591 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1630 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a session of the U.N. General Assembly Tuesday, Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis said that Lithuania will struggle for the creation of nuclear-free and mutual trust zones all over the world. In this connection, Mr. Landsbergis demanded the withdrawal of the "foreign army" (the Soviet Army—BF [BALTFAX]) from Lithuania.

He assured that Lithuania has no hostile feelings to any of her neighbours. "We want to build a democratic state which would guarantee freedom, rights and dignity to peoples and individuals", he pointed out.

Kuzmickas Discusses UN Membership, Poland

LD1809184791 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT
18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius September 18 TASS—The admission of Lithuania as a member of the United Nations is an international step consolidating our independence, Lithuanian parliament's deputy chairman Bronislovas Kuzmickas said.

According to him, Lithuania will henceforth have the opportunity to act as an equal member of the world community. Kuzmickas confirmed that the presidium of the Lithuanian parliament had appointed Anicetas Simutis, Lithuania's former consul general in the United States, the republic's ambassador to the United Nations.

Relations between Poland and Lithuania were in the focus of the briefing in connection with the parliament decision to dissolve district councils, elected by the popular vote in the Vilnius and Salcininsk districts, and introduce direct rule by the republic government's representatives in these administrative and territorial units.

Kuzmickas called the reaction of the Polish mass media to this move of the Lithuanian leadership "unexpected".

According to him, the Polish side "is relying on either incorrect or distorted information".

He said he was due to meet members of a visiting delegation from the Polish Sejm on Wednesday.

Landsbergis 'Surprised' at Warsaw's Reaction

LD1809231491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English
2300 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Today, the Lithuanian parliament resumed once again the issue of the joint Lithuanian-Polish declaration which failed to be signed last week. [passage omitted]

In an interview to the Polish newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA, the Lithuanian parliamentary leader, Vytautas Landsbergis, also touched upon the declaration of the two countries. He pointed out that Lithuania had tabled a draft of the declaration already in February. Three months later, an answer was received from the Polish side that the Polish and Lithuanian variants of the declaration differed only insignificantly. We waited for another four months, and director of the Consular Department of the Polish Foreign Ministry Mr. Jacek Czaputowicz arrived in Lithuania, but it turned out that he had a new draft, which were urged to accept without any discussions, because Mr. Czaputowicz had no authorization to this effect, said Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis. He also told the reporter of the Polish newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA that he was surprised about the way Warsaw sometimes treated Lithuania in Moscow's manner, teaching us which decisions we had to adopt

and which to repeal. We can feel what is implied—there are 40 million people in Poland and only 3 million in Lithuania, so mind and be careful for it may turn out badly for you—stressed Landsbergis in his interview with the Polish RZECZPOSPOLITA.

Polish Deputy: Dissolving Councils Violates Law

AU1809135291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 12 Sep 91 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Czeslaw Okinczyc, Polish member of the Lithuanian Parliament, by Maja Narbutt; place and date not given: "Lithuania Is Breaking Its Own Laws"]

[Text] [Narbutt] You are a Pole and deputy in the Lithuanian Parliament. I should add that you are a Pole who has always backed the idea of Lithuanian independence. What is your view of the Lithuanian Parliament's recent decisions concerning the Polish minority?

[Okinczyc] Parliament's resolution dissolving the local councils in Salcininkai and the Vilnius area violates Lithuanian legislation in the same way as the recent Lithuanian Government directive dismissing Polish civil servants did. Unfortunately, a state that has now become independent is breaking its own laws. Yet, Lithuania was meant to be a state that respects the rule of law. For the past three years, I have fought for two issues: Lithuania's independence and the right of Poles in Lithuania to maintain their national identity. It has transpired the second does not necessarily follow from the first. So, I will continue to fight for the second goal.

[Narbutt] The local councils have been dissolved. The next move might be the introduction of administrative rule in Salcininkai and the Vilnius area. Is there some way out of this crisis?

[Okinczyc] There are two possibilities. Either parliament will partially rescind its decision and only council presidiums will be dissolved, or a decision will be made to hold new council elections. It is true that many council activists were connected with the Kremlin, and they are politically bankrupt. In any case, elections must be held by 3 November. If they are held later, that will be too late.

[Narbutt] The date by which—in accordance with the Lithuanian citizenship act—the inhabitants of Lithuania must decide about adopting Lithuanian citizenship is 3 November.

[Okinczyc] If there are no elections, the Poles in Lithuania will not accept Lithuanian citizenship. That would be a tragedy. Besides, the situation is already tragic.

[Narbutt] So what citizenship would the Poles in Lithuania have then? Would they have Soviet citizenship?

[Okinczyc] I do not know. In any event, it will become an international problem.

[Narbutt] What is the mood among the Polish population now?

[Okinczyc] There is growing discord between Lithuanians and Poles. The Poles feel that independent Lithuania is not their state, although they are living in the land of their forefathers. It also seems to me that in light of this situation, some of them will not welcome the establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and Lithuania.

[Narbutt] What would you like Poland to do?

[Okinczyc] The 50 million Poles living all over the world should appeal to all the international organizations: the United Nations, the CSCE, and the Council of Europe.

Lithuania's recovery of independence has canceled out the effects of World War II. However, the world has not noticed that Poles living in Lithuania are still victims of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. Their status should be regulated by international organizations. I have to stress most forcefully that we are not, of course, demanding the revision of borders.

[Narbutt] Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski recently held talks with Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas. Do you believe that these talks will have an impact on the situation of the Poles in Lithuania?

[Okinczyc] Lithuania's foreign minister will not decide about the situation of the Poles in Lithuania. It is a domestic matter.

[Narbutt] In that case, with whom should talks be held?

[Okinczyc] Landsbergis is the only person to talk to.

Kohl, Vagnorius View Expanded Relations

LD1809175691 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT
18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Stepovik]

[Text] Bonn September 18 TASS—German Chancellor Helmut Kohl on Wednesday met Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius to discuss prospects for bilateral relations in various spheres.

Vagnorius is in Germany on a three-day official visit.

Both leaders stressed the need to develop cooperation, primarily economic, scientific and technological ties, Dieter Vogel, German governmental spokesman, said.

Vagnorius and Kohl agreed to begin negotiations to work out several agreements, including to protect foreign investments.

Kohl praised the Lithuanian Government's efforts to build a market economy in the republic. He said he will

pres. for the earliest possible talks to discuss the Baltic states' admission to the European Community as associated members.

The prime minister is expected to visit Stuttgart, the capital of the Baden-Wuerttemberg land, to meet its head and representatives of business circles.

Procurator Investigates OMON Activities

*LD1809183891 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT
18 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius September 18 TASS—The Lithuanian General Procurator's Office continues the investigation of activities of the Vilnius special militia unit of the Soviet Interior Ministry (OMON).

"This unit was created to de-stabilize the political and economic situation in the Lithuanian Republic. It fulfilled the political order of the most reactionary forces and actually subordinated to the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party," inspector of the crime investigation department Ceslovas Narinkivicius told the Lithuanian radio.

Although Narinkivicius did not cite any substantial proofs to his pronouncement, about 35 criminal proceedings have been instituted against OMON members by the Lithuanian General Procurator's Office.

Damage to Media Facilities Detailed

*LD1809225491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English
2130 GMT 16 Sep 91*

[Text] After the Soviet Army occupied Lithuanian television and radio on 13th January, its personnel remained literally bare-handed. Not only were they deprived of their buildings for 222 days, their equipment was damaged too. People worked with amateur cameras which they borrowed from their friends or from amateur film or video club. During the whole period of occupation there was not a single day when there was no TV and radio broadcast.

During all this time Lithuanian radio and television was aided by their colleagues abroad who provided much technical help. The television of Czechoslovakia sent a mobile TV station, video montage equipment, 200 video tapes, and seven hours of video films for children, which at the moment are being translated into Lithuanian.

The ZDF company made a present of equipment of about 500,000 deutsch marks worth, including video montage equipment, a complete set of television journalistic video recordings, and a Volkswagen van.

These presents are of great use as radio and television were greatly devastated.

Before the occupation of the building, the company had more than 80 cars of various makes. Only a few of them did not get into the hands of the collaborators. Part of them disappeared; others were left in a terrible plight with no carburetors, batteries, starters, and the like. The storehouse of spare parts was also devastated. Many spare parts were stolen.

Up to this day only seven cars have been restored. The ruined cars are found on forests and other deserted places. The return of the radio and television property may be helped by the lists of collaborators found in the buildings and handed over to the procurator's office.

Lithuanian TV was helped not only by foreign TV companies. Many Lithuanian industrial enterprises and organizations transferred large sums of money to the radio and television aid fund. In the period from 13th January to 6th September, the fund received more than 2.5 million rubles and nearly 78,000 U.S. dollars.

At behalf of hunger strike [as heard], where radio and television people were on strike protesting against the occupation of buildings in the period from 6th March until 22nd August, the day of the return of the buildings, quite a lot of money was given as presents by guests visiting Lithuania and Lithuanian people.

(?For the donated money), 12 video recorders and quite a few videotapes, a microprocessing program complex, and 25 color TV sets were bought. For the repairs of the technical center, 1,000,000 rubles were transferred.

At present, engineers and technicians are trying to repair the equipment. One of the TV studios was especially ruined when the collaborators spilt acid on it before running away. The personnel of the factory of television set to help in the repairs. Apart from the equipment, the repairs include doors, new furniture, some of which was found in buildings which do not belong to radio and television. The most part of the radio and television personnel still do not work at their usual places.

After the putschists retreated, 12 rooms in the radio and television buildings were found badly polluted, mainly with mercury. Apparently mercury was not brought from the outside; pollution must have occurred due to the careless treatment of thermometers and other apparatuses which contain this metal. The tests did not reveal a radioactive pollution which would exceed the permissible norms.

Meanwhile, the whole personnel of radio and television are waiting impatiently to return to their old working places.

Small Business Privatization Auction Held

*PM1709135591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2*

[Report by Nikolay Lashkevich: "Million for a Store. Is That Not Expensive?"]

[Text] Vilnius—The first big auction at which, in accordance with the law on the initial privatization of state property, a number of state establishments were sold off, has been held in the Lithuanian capital.

A sewing workroom, a domestic chemicals store, and a glass workshop were under the hammer. Despite the fears of the auction's organizers that there would be few people anxious to acquire these establishments as private property for the starting price, the results of the sale exceeded all expectations. Thus, the price of the domestic chemicals store situated in a standard one-story building jumped during the trading from 64,000 rubles [R] to R1,102,000.

Under the republic law the privatization of state property can be implemented not only through the sale of establishments at auctions but also through the announcement of open subscription for shares if the starting price of the establishment exceeds R500,000. So that we must soon expect the use of the second means of initial privatization, when larger and more expensive establishments go on sale. But open subscription will, nonetheless, be announced somewhat later.

Meanwhile, in the immediate future a new series of auctions is planned in Vilnius. Next in line are hair-dressing salons, consumer services enterprises, cafes, small stores, and other establishments.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Allegedly Falls Ill; Conflicting Reports

Sources Deny Hospital Stay

OW1809163091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1625 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Official sources in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] parliament have confirmed that President Boris Yeltsin felt ill on Wednesday morning. They denied, however, that he had been taken to hospital as IF's [INTERFAX] reporter had earlier been told.

Official Rebuts Heart Attack

LD1809174991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Information about the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] President Boris Yeltsin having a heart attack is not true. An official from the president's information department, Vladimir Yevtenko has just told us this in an interview. According to him, Boris Nikolayevich felt unwell this morning and his doctor has advised him to work at home. However, his trip to Nagorno-Karabakh scheduled for Friday has not yet been cancelled. Boris Nikolayevich also intends to address the opening session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet tomorrow.

Misses Supreme Soviet Opening

LD1909075391 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0714 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—The fourth session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet started today without the planned speech by Boris Yeltsin. Opening it, Ruslan Khasbulatov, the acting parliamentary chairman, announced that the Russian president is "slightly indisposed" and the doctors have advised him to have a day's rest. He assured deputies that there is nothing seriously the matter with the president.

The deputies have to examine about 100 issues concerning the national state structure and reorganization of the bodies of local self-government, economic and legal reform, and implementation of the rural revival program before the end of the year.

Yeltsin, Nazarbayev To Visit Azerbaijan

LD1809162991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program
Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] The press service of the president of the Azerbaijani Republic has confirmed the report of the Vremya information program [as heard] on the forthcoming trip to Nagorno-Karabakh by Russian President Yeltsin. The

statement circulated by the press service says that Yeltsin and Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, who will arrive in Baku by the end of this week, have been invited by the leadership of the Azerbaijani Republic. An agreement on this was reached in Moscow during the meeting of the USSR State Council.

From Baku the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan will go to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The leader of Azerbaijan will accompany them. The trip will be purely for familiarization. The Azerbaijani side hopes that the trip of the leaders of Russia and Kazakhstan to Azerbaijan will help to form an objective public opinion on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh in the country and abroad and to restore the long sought after peace in the region.

Yeltsin Signs Decree on Chernobyl Disaster

LD1509030991 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent S. Milyanchikov, identified by caption] Boris Yeltsin, the president of Russia, has signed a decree on eliminating the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES [nuclear power station]. A law on protecting victims of the accident was adopted in May this year. Even earlier an Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] state committee on the Chernobyl accident had been set up. What has been accomplished since then?

[S. Voloshchuk, chairman of RSFSR State Committee on Chernobyl, identified by caption] The current state of affairs—the scientific and technical facilities actually available to us and the practical opportunities in terms of manpower and funds now deployed in surmounting these consequences—is such that our efforts are still manifestly inadequate.

[Milyanchikov] With German assistance, checks have now been carried out on people living in the affected areas. The furthest limits of contamination have been established. Radiation has left its mark on 12 oblasts and one kray in Russia. In some places the level of radiation is no lower than in Pripet. Even today, according to Semen Voloshchuk, there is no radical way of combating the consequences of the accident. There is no way of knowing what children of the second generation will be born like. But, in addition to areas affected by the fall-out from Chernobyl, there are also entire regions in our republic where the level of radiation is several times higher. [video focuses on Yeltsin directive which is entitled: "Directive of the RSFSR President on Measures To Protect People of Gorno-Altay SSR (Soviet Socialist Republic), Altay Kray, and Orenburg Oblast Living in Areas Affected by Nuclear Tests"]

The president has also issued directives on these oblasts. So, one can only hope that, sometime in the future—albeit distant future—we will no longer live on a large radioactive tip.

Effects of Decree Cited

LD1809161891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] The Russian president has signed a decree on further measures to eliminate the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident on the republic's territory. It provides for a number of benefits for the inhabitants of Bryansk and of Kaluga, Orel, Smolensk, and Tula Oblasts. Specifically, enterprises that deliver food to the afflicted areas will be exempted from tax on their profits.

Boris Yeltsin has also signed an instruction on protecting the population that was exposed to the effects of nuclear tests at the Semipalatinsk test site and in Orenburg Oblast.

Yeltsin Announces Association, Media Laws 'Ready'

LD1509061691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russian President Yeltsin has announced that two new laws are ready: one on the right of citizens to associate without seeking authorization first and the other on freedom of the mass media.

Supreme Soviet Presidium 16 Sep Session Held

PM1809154391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Sep 91 p 1

[RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium press service report: "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] A routine session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium was held 16 September in the RSFSR House of Soviets. The session was led by R.I. Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

There was a presentation of the draft laws "On the Election of Local Administration Heads" and "On RSFSR Citizenship" and the RSFSR Code of Laws on Internal Revenue and Taxation, which have been sent for examination by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions.

The session heard information on the results of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet delegation's visit to Japan at the invitation of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and the chairman of both chambers of parliament.

On the basis of the report of the Constitutional Commission working group, the Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted for examination the draft of the new Russian

Federation constitution. It is planned to discuss it at the forthcoming fourth session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

There was an analysis of the results of the examination at sessions of the soviets of people's deputies of questions of the work of the soviets and their organs and officials in the period of the state coup.

A decision was taken on the formation of an RSFSR Parliamentary Center, within which it is planned to organize Russian political and information and research institutes and a parliamentary library.

The session also examined other questions of the RSFSR's state life.

Supreme Soviet Holds 4th Session 19-27 Sep

Suggested Agenda Listed

OW1809123291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1015 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The 4th session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, due to be held in Moscow on September 19-27, is expected to open with a 30-minute speech by President Boris Yeltsin.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium suggests the following agenda for the plenary meetings:

- the political and socio-economic situation in Russia;
- food supplies to the people;
- the fulfillment of the RSFSR state budget over the first 9 months, and prospects for the last quarter of the year;
- Russia's representation in the Council of the Republics and the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet;
- the RSFSR bill on the election of heads of local administrations;
- progress in drafting a new RSFSR Constitution.

Besides, the parliamentary session will discuss in the second reading the RSFSR bills on income and savings indexing and on the exoneration of victims of political repressions.

TASS Previews Meeting

LD1809175991 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 18 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—A session of the Russian Supreme Soviet will open here tomorrow.

It seems that the session will witness rather heated debates: primarily, because of the issues put on the agenda, and, secondly, because of deputies' attitude towards some measures taken by the Russian authorities.

The session will consider a package of draft laws, connected with the economic reform, an announcement on the state of the budget and forecasts for its fulfilment, which, taking into account the disastrous state of the national economy, will inevitably lead to disputes.

The session, to last for four months, is expected to approve almost 30 draft laws, the aim of which is to provide for the soonest transition to the market.

After the defeat of the August coup, the position of democrats in the Russian parliament, same as throughout the country, have considerably strengthened. The confrontation between the two equal blocs—the ones of democrats and communists—is gone.

However, it seems that some deputies from the democratic camp intend to protest the recent tendency of Russian President Yeltsin and his staff towards the evident predominance of the executive power over the legislative.

This preponderance is growing as the president's staff is expanding.

A special discontent was provoked by the latest decree N112 by the Russian president, which granted the republican government the right to independently, without the parliamentary approval, determine the order of decisions, obligatory for fulfilment throughout Russia.

It says, in addition, that the most important issues will be solved by the Council of Ministers together with the president. Thus, the legislative provision of the Russian economy will be carried out by the president office and registered by presidential decrees, while the parliament will stay aside.

Some observers believe that this session may witness a "riot" of deputies against "the despotism of presidential power".

Viktor Sheynis, Russian people's deputy and a member of the constitutional commission of the Supreme Soviet, believes that "there are no grounds for panic." However, "a serious, although solvable, problem has appeared," Sheynis told TASS.

The situation during the August coup and after it required, in the opinion of the deputy, an energetic interference of the executive authority. "Urgent decrees were needed, and not all of them were juridically correct," said Sheynis.

"There is a certain excess," in the deputy's opinion, in the decree on the Russian Council of Ministers, as well as in the decrees on the basis of which the Moscow administration is functioning.

"There is an excess" in the scale of the expansion of the president staff.

Sheynis believes that the problem should be solved "on the basis of a return of all prerogatives to the legislative power." In his words, this problem was discussed today at the council of factions, and, evidently, will be included in the session agenda.

One of the major current problems is the consolidation of the legislative power, the raising of its role and authority, Sheynis said.

Alongside the consideration of emergency social and economic measures, which are expected to slow down the decrease of living standards, the session will focus on the re-organization of the Supreme Soviet.

This should not be a reorganization on the pattern of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, where the role of the parliament was lowered, but the reorganization to raise the role of the Russian parliament, Sheynis said.

Khasbulatov Previews Program

LD1909063491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 0430 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Interview with Ruslan I. Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet, by unidentified correspondents; place and date not given—recorded "specially for the Mayak 'Panorama'" program]

[Text] A routine session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet starts its work today. It will last almost until the New Year celebrations. Acting Chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov told our correspondents about the program for its work.

[Khasbulatov] We are placing the emphasis, of course, on two blocks of laws—this is the economic block, taking into account not only the lamentable condition of our economy, but also the need to deepen the reforms—and we must of course review the aspect of improving our agrarian program which, you may recall, was adopted under very difficult circumstances, when there was very strong opposition to the aspirations of democratic forces to transform agrarian relations as a whole. The opposition was both at a local level and at a central level, envisaging the preservation of both collective and state farms that operated well—but I am in no way a supporter of dismantling them. But it is a different matter where...[changes thought] We regard peasant farms as having good prospects. We are still somehow not succeeding in supporting them, providing them with assistance and financial resources, with elementary technologies such as tractors and various kinds of mechanized attachments. They are still being allocated poor land. Local authorities are ripping them off in all sorts of ways. We see all this, and of course we have to resolutely

change this—and we are also proposing adopting appropriate amendments to existing laws, and maybe new decisions, draft laws, and so on.

But of course the processes of privatization—they have to be managed in a more defined way. We have adopted a good law on privatization, but people are still complaining in the regions that it is difficult to apply it. It has also been difficult to apply it because there has been no clear demarcation of property—for example what, say, on the territory of Russia actually belongs to us? But now it appears that this question has been decided by the August revolution. Everything that is on the territory of Russia should of course belong to Russia, to the Russian people.

There are very many issues here, including complex ones. What is at issue is an oversaturation of the heavy industrial sectors, enterprises, the military complex: how is conversion and privatization to be carried out here? How is this privatization to be financed? There is an enormous amount of work here. And of course the presidential team, and the government and our deputies, are working toward this in a harmonious way, in this very complicated period of our lives.

This is not the place—as I have already been saying for several days—this is not the place for any kind of altercation, attempts to settle scores, or for the mutual recrimination for which some of our democrats are renowned. When Communists engage in this, it is understandable—it is a purely genetic feature. But to be honest, when democrats engage in the settling of accounts and the clarification of attitudes, I don't understand it.

Another group, another block of draft laws is of course connected with regularizing the whole of our political system, including the elaboration and adoption of a constitution. I should say, of course, that the working group led by Oleg Rummyantsev has done a thorough job on this draft constitution, and it seems to me that basically everything has been balanced there. And even those deputies who commonly speak from such extreme positions, with attacks such as that it is a bourgeois constitution, and so on, you know, have noted the unusual constructiveness of the basic tenets, and it should be possible somewhere around October even to form all the proposals from the deputies, and to commence the detailed preparation and discussion at the Supreme Soviet in October, and even to present it to the Congress. So as you can see, very substantial progress.

You know that we have many problems at the level of oblast and kray soviets. Here it is necessary to speed up the preparation of laws.

We are planning to start with a speech from the president, and then a speech by First Deputy Prime Minister Lobov on the social and economic situation, including the issue of the state of the provision of bread. This issue troubles many of our fellow citizens. I sense this even by the mail I receive.

[Announcer] That was an interview with the acting chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov. He gave it specially for the Mayak morning "Panorama."

Khasbulatov Addresses Assembly

*LD1909091291 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0837 GMT 19 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—The main task facing the Russian Federation today is "not to allow any further deterioration in the situation of people, and therefore to press ahead with economic reform and intelligently follow a line of privatization and modernization, including the defense sectors, to tie up contractual relations with other republics and to intensify foreign economic links." This is how Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the parliament, defined it when speaking at the opening of the session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

Having noted the rise of processes of disintegration in the USSR, he called for people to be prepared for the option of independent development of the Russian Federation.

He called the area of relations with the Federation another serious problem where, in his opinion, "the height of the crisis has passed." The republics which are part of Russia are stating their adherence to the principle of unity and indivisibility, and this should be reinforced, he said.

Noting that groups of deputies are expressing apprehension as to whether there is "a dramatic rise in presidential structures and a decline in the significance of parliament," he called these apprehensions "unfounded." Ruslan Khasbulatov agreed, however, "certain decrees could be of higher quality at the constitutional and legal level."

Ruslan Khasbulatov voiced the opinion that even since the collapse of the August putsch "there is still a breeding-ground for other, possibly, more successful plots." This is, according to Khasbulatov, the process which is rapidly making the population impoverished and therefore swelling the army of the discontented. "In addition to obvious and less obvious opponents, huge bureaucratic structures work against us, old and rapidly arising ones which submerge our laws and any positive action on the part of deputies."

Russian Communist Party To Attempt Revival

*AU1909095691 Paris AFP in English 0937 GMT
19 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow, Sep 19 (AFP)—The Russian Communist Party, suspended following last month's failed coup

by communist hardliners, is to attempt a revival at a November congress, the Russian news agency RIA said Thursday.

A group calling itself the "Communist Initiative" planned to convene the meeting on November 23 in the city of Sverdlovsk, the news agency said. RIA also published results of a survey which showed that 68.4 percent of 908 Muscovites polled last week approved of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree suspending the party's activities. Last week, IZVESTIYA newspaper reported that an unspecified number of communist militants had gathered "illegally" in Moscow to try and rebuild a nationwide communist party.

The Soviet party was also suspended by the Congress of People's Deputies in the wake of the coup bid against Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Coup Prosecutions To Proceed According to Law

PM1609135391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 13 Sep 91 p 2

[Yevgeniy Skukin "Lightning Interview": "We Insist on Legality"]

[Text] Aleksandr Lukin, press secretary for the Moscow Soviet Commission for Investigating Unconstitutional Actions, talks about some of its findings.

[Lukin] In our decisions we always refer to the law. For instance, plenty of facts have been discovered to compromise N. Myrikov, former chief of the Moscow City Internal Affairs Administration, during the putsch. But only the order set out in Cable No. 1007 of 20 August this year (a photocopy of which was published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 29 August) telling personnel to carry out the Moscow commandant's order "On Maintaining the State of Emergency in Moscow" exhibits all the signs of unconstitutional action in accordance with RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Presidential Decrees Nos. 59 and 61.

It is from positions of legality that we are also continuing to evaluate the executive's actions. So, we asked Moscow's mayor to allow elderly Muscovites' primary organizations to perform their social aid functions temporarily—until the Veterans Council is reorganized. Penalties are justified against the personnel of these public organizations' leadership structures who backed the coup. But thousands and thousands of elderly and deserving people, who had nothing to do with the putsch and in fact took an active part in defending Russia's sovereignty, have suffered at the same time.

Russian Prosecutor Interviewed on Coup Case

PM1909135191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 17 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Report on interview with RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) General Prosecutor Valentin

Stepankov by TASS correspondent G. Temnenkov; place, date not given: "Forecasts Are Premature. An Interview With the RSFSR General Prosecutor"]

[Text] TASS correspondent G. Temnenkov interviewed RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov about the progress of the investigation into the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] case:

[Temnenkov] Valentin Georgiyevich, material relating to the course of the inquiry is appearing in the Soviet press with increasing frequency, together with the defense lawyers' opinion on the putsch case. However, this material does not give a clear picture. What can you tell us today about the course of the inquiry? What stage has the investigation reached?

[Stepankov] I think it is impossible to convey a clear picture through the mass media because the investigation only handles material that is yielded by the investigative process within the framework of the legislation covering criminal procedure. So however much we would like to, of course, we cannot get a clear picture from the newspapers, radio, or television. And I cannot give assessments or draw conclusions either because the investigation is at the initial stage and only the court has the right to assess its results.

[Temnenkov] As far as we know, representatives of law-enforcement organs from a number of republics are also being investigated. Doesn't this broad coordination network get in the way of the investigation?

[Stepankov] No, it does not. The investigative teams are made up of professionals from the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and the Russian Federation—they are people who know what they are doing.

[Temnenkov] Regular reports crop up in the press about the appearance of numerous groups at local level investigating the activities of officials during the August putsch. Many people see this as an attempted "witch-hunt." What is your attitude to this?

[Stepankov] The actual appearance of these groups or commissions does not contravene the law, since the Law on the Status of the People's Deputy makes provision for the holding of a deputies' inquiry. This specifies deputies' powers and emphasizes in particular that no deputies' commission has the right to interfere in the procedural side of the court, prosecutor, or militia's activity.

Unfortunately, there are instances in which deputies' commissions try to overstep their powers. This is dangerous. Moreover, I think these deputies' commissions should mainly channel their efforts toward assessing the actions of the executive power, the leaders of the Union, and the executive committee. This is the deputies' principal duty and right. When they begin attempting to assess the role of the prosecutor's office or the KGB, and moreover without knowing anything about the specific way in which these bodies work or without having all the

information to hand, this is not conducive to the good. Only the Russian general prosecutor has this constitutionally based right.

[Temnenkov] Within the framework of the CSCE process, for example within the framework of the Conference on the Human Dimension in Copenhagen, there was talk of abolishing the death penalty. The death penalty as the ultimate form of punishment has been abolished in many European countries. In these countries it is thought that life is a gift that is given by nature, not the state. We know that in our own legislation there has been a considerable reduction in the number of articles punishable by the death penalty. What is your attitude to this question, bearing in mind that the members of the SCSE are being prosecuted under an article that calls for the ultimate punishment—the death penalty?

[Stepankov] Well, first of all, there has only been a slight reduction in the number of articles punishable by death in our country: We are in the thick of a polemic on this matter. The solution to this problem has come to a head.

But I believe that the death penalty should be kept as the ultimate form of punishment.

Regarding your question about the members of the SCSE, it is the court that will determine their fate. I think it would be premature to make any forecasts.

[Temnenkov] One last question, which you have no doubt already been asked several times by representatives of the various mass media. Has pressure been exerted upon you from any quarter in the course of the investigation?

[Stepankov] There is no pressure these days. Even if some people say it is so, in this situation only the presidents of the USSR and Russia are able to exert any leverage. Two documents arrived from M.S. Gorbachev, addressed to me, which he had signed and referred for checking by the investigation. The documents referred to certain people's attempts to explain their position during the days of the putsch. That is to say he sent the letters so that everything could be dealt with in the appropriate fashion. I have not reported to him on the course of the investigation, and therefore no pressure has been brought to bear by top-ranking officials from the state or our republic.

Rutskoy: Russia's 'Big Brother' Role Is Over

PM1709142291 Paris LE FIGARO in French
14-15 Sep 91 p 3

[Interview with RSFSR Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy by Irina de Chikoff; place and date not given]

[Text] [Chikoff] What is your exact role as Russia's vice president?

[Rutskoy] According to the Constitution, I take the president's place in the event of his absence. But I am

also responsible for permanent duties. Thus we are creating a State Committee to protect Russia's interests. I also head a development fund that will establish social programs. Lastly, I coordinate matters connected with the conversion of the military-industrial complex, and I will also be dealing with the control of the customs services.

[Chikoff] Russia has not proclaimed its independence. Is it now the tough kernel of a new center, or will it have equal-based relations with the sovereign states of the future confederation, if there is one?

[Rutskoy] The time when Russia played the role of "big brother" is over. There is no longer any question of borrowing its socks, pants, and even underpants. The position of the Russian Federation's president is clear: He wants a confederation of equal and sovereign states. The republics can adhere to the State Council of the future Union, or the interrepublican economic committee. Those who want neither one nor the other.... Well! Good luck to them! We will trade with them in convertible currencies and at prices current in the rest of the world. Without wanting to offend anyone, I would like to point out that 90 percent of energy resources and raw materials are to be found on Russian territory. Even if the Union is not established in one form or another, Russia will not perish.

[Chikoff] In a State Council and Economic Committee in which each republic is equal to the others, could Russia be put in a minority by a coalition of minor republics?

[Rutskoy] I do not think so. There is still some degree of tact.... I mean that people know who is who.

[Chikoff] Do you think that democracy has triumphed once and for all in Russia and in the republics, or are there still dangers of a reaction?

[Rutskoy] I think that a large majority realize, and have long done so, the absurdity of the system that prevailed in the Soviet Union for 74 years. It is enough to go into the street and to ask people whether they are satisfied with their lot. Living conditions are disastrous. Communism claimed to defend the people's interests, but it was just a sham. What kind of interests are we talking about when 292,000 officers are without a home? And what about civilians? I do not know the exact figures, but over half the population must be without an apartment. Health? A nightmare. Food? Essential goods? Terrible.

As for democracy.... No, it has not yet triumphed. Democracy will have won when the stores are full, when people have homes, when the health problems have been resolved. We are only at the stage of a velvet revolution.

[Chikoff] The military-industrial complex has always been said to be the very nub of the most stubborn conservatism. How can it be converted?

[Rutskoy] Some 70 percent of our country's economy is militarized. The conversion period is just starting. Hitherto there has reigned a climate that I would describe as one of "banditry." Technology centers are destroyed and research bases are smashed. The best specialists are leaving. I think we should proceed in a more civilized fashion.

Conversion means making the factories of the military complex manufacture not aluminum buckets, saucepans, or forks, but goods that we need and that they are capable of producing. We need aircraft to launch telecommunication satellites, television sets, video recorders, and equipment to process agricultural produce. Between 38 and 42 percent of our harvests are wasted because of the lack of such equipment. The list of our requirements is still long, very long. As for the conservatism of the military-industrial complex.... I can say that there is support. The leaders, the cadres of the complex are seeking a way, but it all needs to be dynamized.

[Chikoff] What is to be done in the face of the establishment of a two-speed society in Russia and the Union?

[Rutskoy] It is true that part of society—especially around the major urban centers such as Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, or Novosibirsk—are seizing opportunities, whereas elsewhere inertia reigns. There is nothing surprising in this; these people's personality has been crushed.

But in Russia we have started internal reforms. We are establishing a presidential power mechanism which already has its representatives, prefects, administration chiefs, and governors everywhere. They must make the machine work and establish in each town and village new reforms designed to free people from the old yoke and to allow them to take the initiative themselves. Every individual must be able to realize his potential. As for fools.... Let them stay in their proper place!

[Chikoff] Did you rally to the democratic cause long ago?

[Rutskoy] My beliefs go back a long way.... I was still only a young lieutenant when I was punished for my opinions. But basically I have matured during the past six years. I am nearly 44. That is the age of reason.

Grachev Rejects Forming Defense Ministry Now

LD1809131491 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1125 GMT 18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (TASS)—Colonel General Pavel Grachev, chairman of the State Committee of Russia for Defense Questions, and first deputy USSR defense minister, today refuted the report by the Russian Information Agency that he "allegedly stated at the first sitting of this committee that Russia needed to establish a purely military organization—a Ministry of Defense."

According to Pavel Grachev, at this meeting, he only spoke about the possibility of setting up a Ministry of Defense in certain conditions in the future. We shall proceed to that, he believes, "only in the circumstance that such ministries are to be set up in the large republics—in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, and others, as well as if it is confirmed that the troops deployed on the territory of these republics will be subordinate to them." "Only in these conditions will we again return to the discussion of this issue. For the time being, setting up a Ministry of Defense in Russia is not expedient," Col. Gen. Pavel Grachev said in conclusion.

Afanasyev Opens Democratic Russia Movement Plenum

LD1509062991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 2130 GMT 14 Sep 91

[Text] Exactly 74 years ago, on 14 September—or 1 September old-style—Kerenskiy, the head of the provisional government, announced that the Russian Empire had ceased to exist and proclaimed the establishment of a democratic state. It was with these words that Yuriy Afanasyev, USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] people's deputy, opened the plenum of the Democratic Russia Movement on Saturday. There are three issues on the plenum agenda: the situation in the republic and in the country, and the Movement's tasks; the Democratic Russia Movement congress; and local authority elections. Yuriy Afanasyev also noted that on that day the tri-color flag, which is today the official flag of the Russian Federation, was declared the state flag. In connection with this, it was proposed at the plenum that the republican authorities should be petitioned to declare 14 September Republic Day.

A telephoned telegram arrived for the plenum from Yekaterinburg from a group calling for the recall of RSFSR People's Deputy Sergey Baburin. It states that as of 14 September, 11,800 signatures had already been collected, instead of the 10,000 required by law.

Saburov Notes Plan To Embark on Economic Reform

LD1809232791 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1016 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (TASS)—"We plan to embark on a radical economic reform aimed at creating a normal entrepreneurial-type economy in the Soviet Union soon," Yevgeniy Saburov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, said. "Irrespective of whether an interrepublican economic agreement in this or another form will be concluded or not, this reform will be carried out in Russia in any case," he stressed in an interview to the GOVERNMENT HERALD weekly. "I do not see any other more important task."

The Russian vice premier feels it can be solved only with the help of the measures which have been known for a long time and which have been discussed more than

once, namely privatization, liberalization of prices, commercializing the state sector, squeezing money supply, and others. A new thing is that the economic situation in the country is changing for the worse every day, Saburov said. Those anticrisis measures, which were well known in the spring, are no good today. What we wanted to do stage by stage needs to be done simultaneously.

Touching on the prospects for the committee for the operative administration of the USSR national economy, of which he is a member, Saburov stressed especially that this body which replaced the Cabinet of Ministers is not the government and was set up to "pick up" the collapsing economy of the country. Today, the state is being associated not with a multifaceted center, but with republics, which, as well as enterprises, organizations, and firms, must seek seller's markets, partners, etc. The Russian vice premier feels the future Interrepublican Economic Committee [IEC] which is to take up the baton from the committee for the operative administration, must have a consultative, recommending, and conciliatory nature, rather than a governing, administrative, and distributive one. The IEC must only take care of creating favorable conditions for the prosperity of the national economy.

At the same time, the Russian vice premier noted, such a nature of the IEC does not exclude the creation of such rigid central structures of the central bank type, which will be responsible, for example, for the ruble space where the ruble will be in circulation. Similar banks and reserve systems must ensure circulation of other national currencies. It is difficult to say who will own the bank if the ruble becomes an interrepublican currency. However, Saburov believes that the bank is needed and that its problem certainly cannot be solved by consensus.

Lobov Comments on 'Dismal' Economic Prospects

LD1909103291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—Despite the measures being taken by the Russian Council of Ministers, the situation in the republic has so far not been stabilized. There has been a slump in production and a reduction in the living standards of the population. This dismal appraisal was made in a report by Oleg Lobov, first deputy prime minister of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], at the session of the Russian parliament.

The government is particularly disturbed by the 51 percent reduction in oil exports, O. Lobov stressed. This means that, because of a lack of currency, food purchases abroad may be cut by a half. This year 20 million tonnes of grain alone need to be purchased.

The first deputy prime minister informed deputies that this year the rate of the harvesting of agricultural produce is better than last year's. So far 85 percent of the grain crop has been harvested.

The Russian Government, O. Lobov said, sees the speediest creation of conditions for competition in the private and state sectors, the attraction of foreign capital, and a more resolute transition to market relations as the way out of the present situation.

Committee Announces Formation of National Guard

LD1809214691 Moscow TASS in English 2132 GMT 18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—The Committee of Soldier's Mothers and the Servicemen Social Protection Union Shield on Wednesday held a news conference devoted to the formation and functioning of the Russian National Guard.

The union's leader Vitaliy Urazhtsev said the guard will not be larger than 40,000 men and will be subordinated to the Russian president and his local representatives.

He said a special presidential brigade will also be created. It will number 2,500 people and will be subordinated "personally to Boris Yeltsin."

The guard will have helicopters, armoured personnel carriers, armoured vehicles and fire arms and will protect the Russian president, the Russian parliament building, government and ministries.

Guards will wear a uniform and will be provided with rations and a salary of 1,000 roubles for privates and 2,000 roubles for officers.

Urazhtsev told journalists the armament will be issued only after Yeltsin signs a relevant decree.

He said draftees will undergo a physical and psychiatric examination and will be checked for their political views.

The initiative has been supported by the Moscow commodity exchange, which allocated 200,000 roubles, and Soviet fashion designer Vyacheslav Zaitsev who agreed to design the uniform.

Seminar Conducted on Alternative Military Service

LD1509082191

[Editorial report] Moscow Radio Rossii in Russian at 1900 GMT on 14 September carries a 5-minute report by correspondent Georgiy Sovtsev on a seminar on alternative service in the Armed Forces held in the Russian White House on Friday, organized by the Russian Peace Society and a group of British Quakers. Sovtsev reports that "universal military service has been proclaimed to be a civil duty in our country: But in fact, it has nothing whatsoever to do with civil duty. It is, rather, an attempt

to establish peace by force, training people to kill one another, it is destruction of the individual, a crime against man's nature, against his uniqueness. It demands of people inhumanity and blind obedience, and thereby negates real service to people. The call-up to military service is line an advance approval of war." Interviewed at the seminar, (Anatoliy Chilitsev), who helped draw up the draft law on military service to be presented to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, says there are many obstacles which will hamper the law's passage through that body—political, ethnic, economic—but it must be adopted as part of military reform. Asked whether the result might be that nobody wants to serve in the army at all, but that all opt for alternative service, (Chilitsev) says that alternative service would be poorly paid, and could therefore not compete with military service. The main point is to insure human rights and guarantee freedom of conscience. Sovtsev adds that until recently the military leadership had suggested having alternative service in construction brigades, but the Vienna Convention of 1929 bans forced labour.

Local Affairs

Reportage Continues on Chechen-Ingush Situation

Peace Delegation Completes Work

LD1809213491 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The provisional Supreme Council [vremenniy vysshiy sovet], which was elected two days ago at an emergency session of the Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet, retained all of its members in less than 24 hours. Nineteen people from the newly formed body have already, as demanded by the masses, been driven out. Thirteen remain, but they are those in whom there is genuine confidence.

The provisional council has begun to carry out its obligations. The first joint session with the executive committee of the Chechen congress was held today. It discussed an issue of exceptional importance: how to stop street meetings and get life back to normal as quickly as possible. That is most important today, while tomorrow the council will begin preparations for holding elections for a new Supreme Soviet.

The delegation sent here by Russian President Yeltsin has also completed its work.

[Begin RSFSR State Secretary G.Ye. Burbulis recording] The just demands of the people who came out into the square have now been met and, most importantly, the republic has started democratic reforms, both political and economic, the foundations for which we in the Russian Federation have long endeavored to establish by

electing our president. We have stepped up this activity since the emergency events of August. There is one conclusion: Those politicians and politicians who try to speak in the name of the people are doomed. [end recording]

Khasbulatov Arrives 14 Sep

LD1509033591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Sep 91

[Text] As you know, a Russian state delegation led by Secretary of State Gennadiy Burbulis has been in Chechen-Ingush on a peace mission for the last few days. On Saturday morning Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, arrived in Grozny. Correspondent Tamara Aliyeva, in the Chechen-Ingush capital, reports:

[Aliyeva] A search is under way during intensive meetings and conversations for the best options for a way out of the situation that has emerged. Agreement has been reached, in particular, with the executive committee of the National Assembly of the Chechen People, on convening an extraordinary session of the republican Supreme Soviet. I remind the listeners that the republican Supreme Soviet was broken up on 6 September during the sitting, and political power in effect passed to the executive committee. In view of this, a group of people's deputies made the following statement: The leadership of the executive committee of the National Congress of the Chechen People, and of the Vaynakh Democratic Party announced in the republican mass media the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush Republic, which is at variance with the republican constitution currently in force. We, a group of people's deputies of the Chechen-Ingush Republic, therefore officially declare that the Supreme Soviet has not been dissolved and preserves its constitutional rights and powers. So, on 16 September an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet will answer the question: To whom does power in the republic belong? and will put an end to the hostility and lawlessness.

New Power Body Established

LD1809183491 Moscow TASS in English 1826 GMT 18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Grozny September 18 TASS—The interim Supreme Council of the Chechen-Ingush Republic has been invested with power at the will of the insurgent people, but only until the time when new democratic structures will have been elected, the council chairman Husain Akhmadov told TASS.

The new body of power has replaced the self-dissolved parliament of the republic.

The dates for the election of the president and parliament of the republic will be set upon agreement with the executive committee of the National Congress of the Chechen People.

According to the head of the provisional legislature, its members include Russian-speaking and Ingushi representatives. Differences between the executive committee and the council, he said, can and must be overcome through mutual agreement.

The provisional Supreme Council has no offices of its own. The building of the former republic parliament is still blocked by protesters. The meeting in central Grozny is expected to dissolve in an orderly manner on Thursday. Groups of the armed national guard will dissolve as well.

'Long-Awaited Compromise' Achieved

LD1909044491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 17 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Grozny, 17 Sep (TASS)—A long-awaited compromise was found today by all the social and political forces in this Caucasus republic. The functions of the parliament, which announced self-dissolution last Sunday, have been handed over to a provisional highest council. The Chechen, Ingush, and Russian populations are equally represented on it through their own deputies. The 40-year-old Khuseyn Akhmadov, one of the leaders of the Chechen national movement, has been elected chairman of this body.

A provisional committee headed by USSR People's Deputy Lecha Magomadov was elected earlier, at a general congress of the Chechen people, to work out new legislative acts defining the Chechen-Ingush state structure. It is thought that in the nearest future this committee will prepare a package of documents, including laws on citizenship, parliamentary elections, and the president, and that the provisional highest council will approve them and organize elections of new authorities.

At the same time, the rally in the center of Grozny is still continuing. However, the executive committee of the general congress of the Chechen people, which organized the rally, has already begun to work to ensure that the participants in the rally go home.

Dzhakhar Dudayev, leader of the executive committee of the Chechen Congress, stated in a conversation with a TASS correspondent that the main aims had been reached. "The Supreme Soviet of the republic and Doku Zavgayev, its chairman, have been deposed. A path has been opened up for democratic changes. As soon as the new parliament has been elected, the executive committee will regard its functions, given to it by the Chechen People's Congress as long as a year ago, as having exhausted themselves, and will announce self-dissolution. As for the issue of Chechen-Ingush state

sovereignty, it is the citizens themselves who, through a referendum, ought to decide whether the republic forms part of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic or the renewed Union."

Sobchak Proposes Mayors' Meeting in Caucasus

OW1709150291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] This autumn St. Petersburg is to host a consultative meeting between the mayors of Baku, Yerevan, Tbilisi and St. Petersburg. Such a gathering was proposed by the mayor of St. Petersburg Anatoliy Sobchak. IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent was told at the mayoralty that this proposal was welcomed by the mayors of the three cities in the Caucasus. Participants in the meeting will discuss the ways to establish stable economic ties between their cities. Sobchak might act as a mediator in the efforts to settle the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Moscow Mayor Says Privatization To Begin in Oct

PM1809143391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Sep 91 p 2

[Unattributed report under "Evening Teletype: 1700-2400 Hours" rubric: "Statements"]

[Text] "Active privatization will begin in Moscow in October 1991," Moscow Mayor Gavril Popov told your RIA correspondent. "Stores with an area of up to 100 square meters and small enterprises with up to 25 workers will be privatized."

Mossoviet Deputies Continue Hunger Strike

LD1609050291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2020 GMT 15 Sep 91

[Report by correspondent A. Goryachev; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] A hunger strike by a group of Mossoviet deputies demanding that General Komissarov, head of the Moscow GUVd [Main Internal Affairs Directorate], be put in office has been going on for 11 days now. Here is a brief history. According to a Mossoviet decision, the general should have taken office six months ago, but judging from available information he simply does not suit a number of fairly major figures, probably because of his principled nature. So, the deputies are demanding that he be put in office; that is, that the general be presented to the GUVd personnel by a superior officer—a mere formality. But the conflict has already grown bigger than that and become a matter of principle.

It is a question of fulfilling lawful decisions of the city authorities; that is, struggle is under way between the legislative and executive authorities. I will be bold—a war is under way because the deputies are accusing

Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov of counteraction and apparently not without reason. What kind of a country is it where representatives of the law, in order to get it fulfilled, are forced to announce a hunger strike?

[Yu. Sedykh-Bondarenko, Mossovet deputy chairman, identified by caption] We asked Popov and Luzhkov, we knocked on every door, but no one would hear us. We sounded the alarm: the Constitution is being violated, the republic's laws are being flouted, nevertheless no one is paying any attention. In our state, which is not governed by law, even after this unsuccessful coup, we could say that the putsch failed but the coup is going on and the republic's constitution and laws are still being flouted. And right up to this moment the republic's prosecution service has not reacted to this.

[Goryachev] Are you hoping for victory in this hunger strike?

[Sedykh-Bondarenko] None of the deputies is going to give up the hunger strike, whatever it might cost.

[Goryachev] Every appeal has been made, right up to Russia's Supreme Soviet. There is no response. The authorities are keeping silent. Well, it will be worse when the people keep quiet. [video shows placard: "We demand that lawful decisions of representative bodies of state authority—Mossovet and RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) Supreme Soviet—be implemented," other placards and posters demanding Komissarov's installation, men with badges saying "hunger strike"]

Stock Exchange President Released From Custody

LD1509015891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 14 Sep 91

[Text] Continuing the mercy theme, I can say that today Tenyakov, the prominent businessman and president of the Moscow Central Stock Exchange, has been released from custody, having given a written promise not to leave town. He was arrested during the August putsch on a charge of receiving major bribes. The Chelyabinsk Oblast Executive Committee Internal Affairs Directorate has scheduled a news conference on the case of the entrepreneur for Monday. I am sure that there also will be a Mayak correspondent at this news conference and that you will get the fullest possible information on it.

St. Petersburg Status Documents Drafted

PM1609102991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Untitled report from roundup of IZVESTIYA, TASS, REUTER, INTERFAX, and RIA reports]

[Text] Documents on the city's future status are being drafted in St. Petersburg.

The first article of the draft law on St. Petersburg's status, which has already been agreed, reads: "The free

city of St. Petersburg is a state association within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic with a democratic state form of rule."

Democratic Russia 'Activists' Issue Demands

LD1509010591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 14 Sep 91

[Report by correspondent Grigoriy Tarasov from Belgorod]

[Text] The piece of news which is now being widely discussed in the oblast is the political strike by a group of Democratic Russia activists on Revolution Square. They are demanding the resignation of the chairmen of the oblast soviet and of the oblast executive committee and of the leaders of the oblast mass media. During the days of the putsch, those who were on hunger strikes did not express their position clearly. Statements supporting these demands have been made by the oblast organizations of the Russian Democratic Party and the Democratic Russia Movement.

Military Secrecy Hampers Radiation Survey

LD1509061291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] As a result of the Chernobyl accident, a map showing the distribution of radioactivity in the European USSR is being compiled. The work is being financed out of the state budget. The program, known as "Atlas," also includes an aerial survey of Murmansk and the Kola Peninsula. The Arctic capital is packed with nuclear-powered vessels, enterprises providing maintenance and servicing for the nuclear-powered fleet, and storage facilities for radioactive waste from ships. This small oblast accommodates bases for the Navy's nuclear fleet and a nuclear power station. Maybe that is why local people are anxious about radiation. The Nevskiy Biological Production Association has investigated a large part of the peninsula. However, the headquarters of the Northern Fleet has clamped a veil of secrecy on a considerable expanse of territory, including Severomorsk and its suburbs.

The equipment showed a serious deviation from normal 50 m above two industrial installations in Murmansk. Geophysicists from a laboratory on the ground were denied access to the premises and were, therefore, unable to check them out. This year similar work was carried out in Estonia without any obstruction—not, perhaps, because there is a different level of secrecy there but because there is a different level of freedom.

Nakhodka Mayor Sees Dim Prospects for FEZ*OW1509215091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2032 GMT 15 Sep 91*

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Victor Gnezdilov, mayor of the city of Nakhodka, the Far East, believes that the project for the creation of a free economic zone [FEZ] in the city is "in the state of clinical death." According to him, the project will not get back on track unless documents are shortly passed to define the zone's status.

Nakhodka has yet to receive any customs and tax concessions. With no documents defining the city's status, the city cannot start delivering on the contracts with western companies concerning the creation of a FEZ infrastructure, says Nakhodka's mayor.

Priority tasks, says the mayor, include: the development of an advanced communications system and of efficient foodstuffs and electricity supply systems.

Sverdlovsk Deputies Oppose Presidential Appointees*PM1609120191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 14 Sep 91 p 1*

[Report from TASS, URAL-AKTSENT, SEVERO-ZAPAD, DR-PRESS, and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA roundup: "Give Right To Elect"]

[Text] Representatives of the Sverdlovsk soviet deputies' faction "Democratic Choice-Democratic Russia" have sent an appeal to B. Yeltsin, R. Khasbulatov, G. Burbulis, and V. Makharadze.

"In our view, the trend toward the appointment of heads of executive power by the Russian president, based on the apparently greater competence of the president compared to the population living on the territory, is very dangerous," it says.

New Members Join Urals Economic Association*PM1609114591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2*

[Report by Andrey Tarasov: "Again Under Sign of 'Emergency Measures'"]

[Text] Saratov—The five members of the Urals Region Economic Collaboration Association formed three months ago has been joined by Bashkiria, Udmurtia, and Tyumen Oblast.

From the moment the association was formed, it was clear that the Urals needed a single economic space primarily to provide itself with food.

So far the leaders of the republics and oblasts belonging to the economic community are seeking grain in exchange for Urals raw material and the Sverdlovsk

authorities have decided to return to a tested method of managing the national economy. Recently the oblast soviet presidium recommended to the city and rayon soviet executive committees that for the duration of the harvest they halt the enterprises of the nonproduction sphere, except for health care, trade, and consumer services, and send the workers onto the fields. It has been recommended to the plants that they send up to 30 percent of their scheduled personnel to the "battle for the harvest."

W. Siberian Exchanges Putting More Oil on Market*OW1509214291 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2032 GMT 15 Sep 91*

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The exchange in the city of Nizhnevartovsk, western Siberia, may sell a record volume of oil for any day of trading on September 25 when 1.5 million tons of oil will be on offer, said exchange spokesperson. Currently, the record for the sale of oil—450,000 tons a day—belongs to the commodities and raw materials exchange in the neighbour city of Tyumen (TTBF).

However, demand for oil at exchanges in western Siberia is falling, claim exports. In an attempt to break into new markets, the TTBF set up a new "oil" exchange in Moscow called Hermes and began to establish branches in a number of regions.

Apart from the exchanges in Nizhnevartovsk and Tyumen, a third oil-trading exchange in western Siberia, the Soviet Union's chief oil-producing area, is situated in the city of Surgut. An "oil" exchange in the town of Noyabrsk, northern Tyumen region, is scheduled to be established in late September.

External Affairs**Mayor Sobchak Plans Request for EBRD Aid***OW1709233191 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2058 GMT 17 Sep 91*

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Anatoliy Sobchak, the mayor of St. Petersburg, formerly Leningrad, who is due to leave for London, intends to discuss with the president of EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development], Mr Jacques Attali, the bank's possible financing of a program aimed at the promotion of foreign investments and technologies in the Petersburg region. The program provides for the creation of at least one thousand new enterprises with the help of firms from the EC.

Mr. Sobchak intends also to reach an agreement on sending emergency food aid to St. Petersburg by the European Community.

Kunadze, Sakhalin Official Discuss Kurils Dispute

OW1809183591 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 18 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "The Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation, as part of the Russian Administration, cannot but take into account the vital interests of republican residents. But we bear in mind the objective realities of Soviet-Japanese relations", the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze said. He was speaking over the telephone with the chairman of the Sakhalin Regional Soviet Anatoliy Aksenov and the Russian president's representative in the Sakhalin Region Vitaliy Guliya. Kunadze was a member of the delegation that visited Japan recently. It was led by acting Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov.

Kunadze reviewed the Russian delegation's positions. In the most general terms they were confined to the need for settling Soviet-Japanese relations and concluding a peace treaty. Russia is going to settle the territorial dispute with Japan in compliance with international law. Tokyo insists on the return of the four south Kuril Islands, taken over by the Soviet Union after World War II.

Kunadze noted the fact that the RSFSR leadership strongly rejects in principle any attempts to interpret the settlement of the territorial dispute as a commercial deal. He said that the Russian Federation would be developing contacts with Japan and seeking ways of resolving the territorial dispute. The republican Foreign Ministry is going to safeguard the rights and interests of the population of the islands Japan wants to have back.

According to "DP" sources, it was agreed that Kunadze would visit Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands shortly. Their population and local authorities have a mixed feeling about the plans for resolving the territorial dispute with Japan.

Commentary Reviews Khasbulatov Japan Visit

OW1809224391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Japanese
1100 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] A delegation of deputies from of the Russian Republic, led by Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Republic, visited Japan last week. In this regard, Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev states as follows:

As a result of the abortive coup by Soviet conservatives, forces that used to take a hard line on the territories issue pending between the Soviet Union and Japan have lost their political influence. This point became apparent during the Khasbulatov-led delegation's visit to Japan.

The delegation's visit indicates the Russian Republic's position on settling the territories issue not on the basis of the rights of the winners or victors in World War II, but as on the basis of the international [words indistinct]. It also indicates the republic's readiness to speed up the process based on the five-stage plan advocated by President Yeltsin.

According to this plan, advocated by Yeltsin during his visit to Japan last January, the final settlement of the territorial debate will be up to the judgment of the next generation. When viewed from several perspectives, however, the Russian Republic leadership has drastically changed this plan. It no longer appears to intend to postpone settlement of this issue indefinitely.

According to available information, Russian Republic Premier Silayev stated his views in talks with Japanese Ambassador to the USSR Edamura before the coup attempt in August; that the present generation should shoulder the responsibility of settling the territories issue. As is apparent from remarks made in Tokyo by the Russian Republic delegation members, federation authorities now seem to share the republic's position on this point.

Meanwhile, is there any relationship whatsoever between this development and the Russian Republic's expectations for large loans from Japan? The Russian Republic legislative delegation has appealed directly to the Japanese Government for financing. Delegation members, as well as President Yeltsin himself, nevertheless resolutely deny such links between the two issues.

For instance, Deputy Foreign Minister Kunadze of the Russian Republic has said that the point of contention is not money, but if the Japanese demand can be justified and if territorial exchange deal for financial aid might well bring down the federation government. Aside from the question of whether this will actually occur, Soviet public opinion would probably not favor such a deal due to interest lately in the territories issue.

In his talks with the Japanese, Khasbulatov mentioned Soviet public opinion on several occasions. We cannot afford to neglect the opinions of people in both the Soviet Union and the Russian Republic, not to mention the fact that the issue of the southern Kurile islands is directly connected to the interests of thousands of people living there.

Under such circumstances, if Moscow should actually come to believe that the Japanese claim for the territories can be legally justified, it would certainly be a first step toward settling this issue. But other corresponding measures must also be taken. This will take more time and effort.

In that case, it is to be expected that the difficult problem of ratification of a peace treaty with Japan will be brought up in both the Russian Republic and the Soviet Union's legislatures. Meanwhile, it will be necessary for the Japanese side to make certain concessions. Such

moves as reconsidering the principle of not separating politics from economics, abolition of the hardline position demanding settlement of all issues at a stroke, and agreement to settle the issue in stages will probably have a positive effect.

Efforts will be needed to create a favorable atmosphere for bilateral relations; such efforts will certainly improve relations between our two neighboring nations.

Knesset Delegation Leader on Possible Ties

*OW1709182391 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1711 GMT 17 Sep 91*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Here in Russia we have felt an urge on the part of people to make up for the cost of that one-sided, unbalanced policy which the Soviet Union pursued for so long with respect to Israel. Michael Kleiner's words, chairman of the Israeli Knesset committee on emigration and absorption, the first head of a parliamentary delegation in the last ten years to visit the Soviet Union by invitation of the Russian republic's Supreme Soviet.

Besides meeting the Russian parliament's leadership (see "Diplomatic Panorama" 16.09.91), the delegation held talks with the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On 16 September the delegation was received by Aleksandr Belogonov, deputy foreign minister at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. According to M. Kleiner's words, the delegates pointed out to the deputy minister the absolute necessity of the most urgent restoration of full diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel. He did not exclude the possibility that the Russian Federation would establish diplomatic relations with Israel and open its embassy there before the Soviet Union did. "Although, remarked M. Kleiner, we would rather give first place to the Soviet Union." According to his own words, the Russian leadership's attitudes towards establishing diplomatic relations with Israel are "most positive."

In response to "Diplomatic Panorama's" question on the possible time period for the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel M. Kleiner noted that, in his opinion, if everything depended on the Russian republic, this question would have been resolved already. As regards the Soviet Union, putting into words those of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's officials, "we are on the threshold of this event." Inasmuch as the Soviet Union is one of the joint chairmen of the world conference on Middle East settlement which is due to begin in October, M. Kleiner said, he cannot imagine how it could take place not having first fully restored Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations.

However, according to his words, their absence is not a major obstacle for the opening of the conference. What really hinders is that the PLO unexpectedly began to put

forward "new demands never proposed before", concerning in part the representatives of Eastern Jerusalem in the world conference on the Middle East and Palestinian representatives living outside Israel.

As regards Soviet-Palestinian relations, M. Kleiner said: "I do not understand why the USSR acts as an advocate for the PLO", having reminded that its representative Qaddumi expressed his hope at the time for the putsch's success and the removal from power of the legally elected president, Mikhail Gorbachev. After this, M. Kleiner said, "the USSR should have been the last country to get worried about the PLO's fate."

In response to a question on the influence of the USSR and the Russian republic on the Middle East regulation process, M. Kleiner noted that from his talks with representatives of Soviet and Russian republic foreign policy departments he got the impression that they are undertaking serious efforts to coordinate their activity on Middle East regulation. If the USSR continues to exist in one form or another, if it speaks from an independent position and puts forward foreign policy initiatives in coordination with Russia, then it will play a very positive role, the head of the Israeli delegation underlined. In his opinion, the USSR still exerts influence on Syria and the Palestinians.

Media

Reappearance of '600 Seconds' Program Reported

*PM1809150791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 14 Sep 91 Single Edition p 6*

[Report by A. Molokov: "600 Seconds Back on the Air"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—On Thursday, after a break of almost two weeks, the timer's fleeting seconds appeared again—the independent television company's "600 Seconds" was back on the air. Both its devotees and its enemies awaited this appearance with surely the same curiosity. And Nevzorov did not disappoint them—his "Panoptikum" devoted to the memory of Marshal of the Soviet Union Akhromeyev descended on the viewers, fired their emotions, and made them think: What has happened in the country if its soldiers are taking their own lives.

"Our appearance on the air was decided two days before the change of leadership at the St. Petersburg television company. So there is no need to link this fact with the triumph of democracy," Aleksandr Nevzorov said. "Six Hundred Seconds" was saved from destruction by the thousands and thousands of ordinary people who, in support of us, sent in telegrams, picketed and attended rallies in our defense, and sent in 3- and 5-ruble notes from their miserly pensions and by present levels modest wages."

In Nevzorov's opinion, "600 Seconds" will go further than usual. Although V. Yugin, the television and radio

company's new director, stated in a snap interview at the Moscow Station on his arrival from the capital that "the program must remain on the air but it must be made by different people."

So "600 Seconds" is back on the air. But for how long?

Popov Interviewed on New 'Doubts' Program

LD1609114891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Sep 91

[Studio interview with Moscow Mayor Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov by Eduard Sagalayev; from the "Somnieniya" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Sagalayev] A new regular feature has started on Central Television. It is entitled "Somnieniya" ["Doubts"]. In this feature we want to share our doubts, express our doubts, and through these doubts try and determine the truth. With me in the main news editorial department of Ostankino today is Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov, mayor of Moscow and someone who has agreed to be a political observer—more precisely a political expert—for television. [passage omitted]

Gavriil Kharitonovich, these are true thoughts, in keeping with my understanding of the situation. In this case, though, things are more difficult for you because you are not only a political observer and expert, but you are also the mayor of such a huge city, such a megapolis as Moscow. What is the practical possibility, as you were saying, of opening the way for enterprising people while protecting those who, perhaps by virtue of their own nature, have no desire and cannot engage in entrepreneurial activity but simply want to earn honestly their crust of bread or lump of sugar—something simply nonexistent in many Moscow homes at the moment. What is the mayor of Moscow undertaking, and what are the real changes for the better that perhaps already exist?

[Popov] We have worked out two sets of measures. The first set of measures is what lies on the surface, what had to be done as a result of the putsch. I did not conceal my point of view, nor do I now. First, I think the country should carry out a general reorganization of the state security bodies. As for Moscow and what is in our power, for three or four days now the state security bodies of Moscow and Moscow Oblast have been under the command of a civilian, our colleague Yevgeniy Sevastyanov, a well-known member of the democratic movement, of Democratic Russia. I am very pleased to point out that this met with understanding from two sides at once. On the one hand, this proposal met with understanding from Vadim Bakatin, who embarked upon this very decisive step; and it also met with understanding from the state security staff themselves. That's the first thing.

Second, we insist, and very urgently so, that a civilian should be at the head of the Moscow militia. You understand, it has turned out... [Popov changes thought] It may well be world experience, but people say that world experience does not dictate to us. If you have a

military man, then there is the military oath, he has to fulfill orders, if he does not fulfill his oath, then tomorrow he will stand before a tribunal. If you have a civilian in that position, then he acts according to civil laws, certain things cannot be done to him. As for the Main Administration for Internal Affairs, we have managed to ensure that Arkadiy Murashev will be the head of the Main Administration for Internal Affairs of Moscow: He is also a well-known member of the Democratic Movement and a people's deputy.

[Sagalayev] That was unexpected!

[Popov] Yes, it was unexpected both for him and for us. But after all, the life we have all embarked upon now is also unexpected. It does not mean to say that he is not a professional, so to speak. One can be a professional in another matter, such as finding out the actions of the putschists in time. In this regard, the people who have been appointed now are professionals, real politicians on a grand scale. As for the Moscow mayor's office, as I have said before, as soon as we receive notification from the city party organization, the question of offering it premises so that it can operate normally will be examined. There must be democratic pluralism. There is another level where roots need to be eradicated, namely in the mass media. You know as well as I do what changes are under way there. I am pleased to say that all Moscow newspapers are coming out, including those which stuck to different principles. I regard this as a sign of normal democratic development.

[Sagalayev] We in the USSR Union of Journalists also campaigned for that.

[Popov] Yes, and I think you acted quite correctly, because we must think of the future. As for serious things, serious matters, these are the things that must go through, the transformation of the fundamental bases of the life of society. At the moment we are working very actively, continuously. sittings are held virtually every day. Next week, I think, we will adopt a decision on a mechanism for privatizing housing in our city, so that millions of people in our city will become some sort of property owners for the first time in their lives, at least owners of what they have long since earned and worked for and so on and so forth. In the pipeline are decisions connected with privatization of services and trading; also in the pipeline are decisions connected with the allocation of plots for dachas and for houses and so on and so forth.

You see, we need to make a city in which there will be millions of people and where not everything in life will depend on the state because such things will depend on one's labor.

[Sagalayev] Gavriil Kharitonovich, obviously, we should not gloss over the problem about which so much is now being written and said; that is, the conflict which has arisen in Moscow which is being characterized as a conflict between the Moscow authorities and entrepreneurs.

[Popov] I consider it impossible to build a normal city without businessmen, without entrepreneurs, and so on. This is where one subtle point, one very important subtle point emerges which was uncovered by the putsch.

You see, we have two categories of entrepreneurs so to speak—one category of entrepreneurs has entered normally into entrepreneurial activity. They have also had to violate certain laws—here nothing is done without this, it is automatic, and in my view, no one is particularly fearful of doing this. After what we are doing now, this category will have more opportunities.

But there is also a second category of entrepreneurs. They are the category of entrepreneurs who, in their desire to make a profit, have grown up uncontrollably from the bureaucratic, and in particular from the party structures. If freedom of enterprise was taken to mean getting the secretary of the town committee, or the town committee secretary's assistant to be your partner so that they could use this power to procure something in short supply and then sell it—well that is also business, so to speak, but now the reorganization of city authorities is taking place, these people are offended that their investments are no longer working. [Popov chuckles]

In a human sense, I can understand all of this. Sooner or later, we are going to have to part with this section of the business community. Therefore, I think that we will eventually be able to sort out the majority of our problems here, although there is one serious and large problem. The formation of executive authority—not only in Moscow but throughout the country has led to the sort of regime in which the old legislation about the soviets and the new legislation about the president and his powers contradict each other. There are two ways in which these contradictions can be eliminated: The laws can be changed, but I support the idea that we need to hold new elections to the local authorities in the country, and in Russia in particular. Now the Russian legislature is to pass resolutions on new elections for executive authorities and elections for the leaders—to date, only in Moscow and Leningrad have the leaders been elected—we need to elect the leaders of executive authorities, but

parallel to this, I think that we really need to hold elections to the soviets themselves—at rayon, town, and oblast levels. Then we will create a structure which will be capable of making the whole system watertight so that it will work properly.

In conclusion, I would like to say the following. You see, we should not become excessively euphoric because of our victory. Whom did we defeat? We defeated eight people—the leaders. We defeated the first echelon so to speak, which advanced upon us, and we should not exaggerate—that echelon was not the strongest of the forces which were at their disposal. The fundamental forces, the active forces are effective, they still exist. These active forces were not removed by anyone. They can only be removed by life. We need a new center in the country, a new plan for the country's center. We need the republics to immediately work out long-term programs for their actions to reform society once they receive the right to do so. We need to unite the democratic movements, we need a strong democratic party to unite the best forces in society for the sake of the people.

Objectively speaking, all the conditions for victory exist, but it is hard work, and we need to prepare for it. The main thing, as our program is called....

[Sagalayev, interjecting] Doubts....

[Popov] Yes, it is to permit yourself to doubt as often as possible, to analyze your own mistakes in order to seek the correct way of resolving things. We need to put two huge pots on to cook. One pot is the market economy and the other is democratic life. And all those who emerge when they are boiled and who show their ability to work will be those people who will raise up our country in the future.

[Sagalayev] Well, I hope that we will soon meet up with you again to discuss the situations which arise. I hope that this process will, however, proceed and that we will be able to shed some of today's doubts. Thank you. Good bye.

[Popov] Thank you.

Belorussia

Elections Held for Supreme Soviet Chairman

Second Round Inconclusive

LD1809142191 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0843 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Minsk, 18 Sep (BELTA-TASS)—The second round of the election of the chairman of the Belorussian legislature which ended at almost midnight yesterday, has also failed to bring out a winner. The legislature's former head, Nikolay Dementey, was obliged to resign under pressure from his colleagues following the failed August putsch in Moscow.

Out of the four candidates nominated for this post, two went forward into the second round: Stanislav Shushkevich, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and currently acting chairman; and Vyacheslav Kebich, head of the Belorussian government. The prime minister was leading by 40 votes. However, since in the first round the Belorussian People's Front [BFP] supported two of its own candidates who did not get through to the second round, the BFP gave its votes to Stanislav Shushkevich, and he managed to move to the front. The first deputy was 17 votes short of the number needed to become chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia. Vyacheslav Kebich was behind him by exactly the same number.

In the opinion of many deputies and journalists accredited to the session, the Belorussian legislature will have to repeat the path followed by the Russian legislature where the head of the Supreme Soviet has also not yet been elected. A considerable part of the former party and economic leaders who until quite recently made up an absolute majority in the Belorussian legislature support Vyacheslav Kebich, who comes from the same background and has earned a reputation as a conscientious worker. While radical deputies, whose ranks have widened since the August events, prefer to see Stanislav Shushkevich, a more flexible and democratic politician, in this post. Repeat elections, in which there will be additional candidates nominated, lie ahead.

Shushkevich Elected

LD1809182291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Report by correspondent Leonid Sviridov]

[Excerpt] The official voting results were announced on 18 September at approximately 1600 [1300 GMT]. This is the second day of elections for a new Belorussian Supreme Soviet chairman. Here are the official figures:

Stanislav Shushkevich—214 votes for, 98 votes against;

Leonid Kozik—51 votes for, 261 votes against.

Thus, Stanislav Stanislavovich Shushkevich has become the Belorussian Supreme Soviet chairman. He is a people's deputy for USSR and Belorussia, a nuclear physics professor, and a Belorussian Academy of Sciences member. [passage omitted]

International Aid Urged for Chernobyl Cleanup

LD1909051291 Moscow TASS in English
1157 GMT 18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Kuklov]

[Text] Minsk September 18 TASS—Belorussia cannot deal with the consequences of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster on its own, according to clean-up experts.

The republic will need some 130 billion roubles from 1986 to 2015 for the clean-up effort, experts said.

"We pin great hopes on the help of the international community, including on a conference of donor-countries for the Chernobyl fund scheduled for September 20 in the framework of the 46th session of the U.N. General Assembly," Nikolay Pakhomov, chairman of the Public Committee of Chernobyl Organisations, told TASS.

"I appeal to governments in economically developed countries to urge participants in the conference to continue the U.N. programme to help Chernobyl victims," he said.

"We also hope for contributions by countries, state, religious and public organisations," he said.

Ukraine

Kravchuk Addresses Deputies; Constitution Changed

LD1809222391 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian
1500 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Concluding remarks by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk at the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session in Kiev; intercepted in progress from live relay; followed by commentary by Radio Kiev correspondent Vasyl Byrzov]

[Text] [Kravchuk, speaking angrily] You entrusted to me, as chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and to Prime Minister Fokin the responsibility for the affairs of state. We had to see to it that the coal and metallurgical industries were working and that a certain amount of grain was procured. So I beg you: Either confirm this trust or take our places and solve these matters. If you are going to stand in my way at each session and question me about where I have been and what I have done, then I must say that there is no need for me as such, nor do I need you as you are [applause, shouts].

Because this is getting to be a very serious matter... Soon I will probably be questioned on what I am, where I was, and with whom, and compelled to deliver reports here. Not likely. Do you understand? I repeat: This matter is very serious. And now I wish you creative successes.

[Byrsov] So, the evening session of the Supreme Soviet has ended, and the working day of people's deputies is over. Let me recall: At the morning session, the legislature discussed the agenda which contained a point on the stand of the press, television, and radio of Ukraine during the state coup d'etat and the lessons taught by it. Deputy Spys, chairman of the parliamentary commission for issues of glasnost and mass information, gave a report on the commission's conclusions. He submitted many proposals, including one on the need to create a Ministry of Information. Those people's deputies who spoke after him agreed that the time for creating such a ministry has come, but it may play a positive role providing that its terms of reference will be purely functional and not branch-directional. Instead of guiding the press, it should only coordinate. The press is a mighty weapon and it must function independently, its work should rest on the law governing the press.

The mass information means were subjected to sharp criticism by deputies for directly or indirectly supporting the putschists and failing to defend the state sovereignty of Ukraine. The Supreme Soviet charged the commissions with reviewing once again the decision on the media's work and, having taken into account the discussion at this session, to submit proposals to the Supreme Soviet for the second time.

A no-confidence vote was held concerning the board of the Ukrainian state teleradio company. One hundred and sixty-three deputies voted to express confidence. In other words, the Supreme Soviet expressed confidence in the managers of the teleradio company.

At the evening session, people's deputies discussed changes and additions to the constitution. The first thing they did was to abrogate the preamble to the existing constitution since it does not correspond to the realities of the day. Then they eliminated words such as socialism and introduced some other changes corresponding articles.

Regretfully, two amendments were dropped. They referred to the discipline of the Ukrainian legislature. The deputies rejected a formulation to the effect that the deputy's primary duty is to attend sessions, and that all other tasks and matters must be secondary. Thus, judging by the vote, the majority of our deputies want to work both in the Supreme Soviet and in their enterprises or organizations. So, it is too early to talk about a professional legislature.

The evening session confirmed a new minister of social security. He is Arkadiy Vitaliyevych Yershov, Ukraine people's deputy. Most of you know him. He was voted in almost unanimously.

Supreme Soviet Adopts Law on Investment

OW1809221191 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1959 GMT 18 Sep 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [18 September] the parliament of the Ukraine passed a Law on Investment Activities that gives national and foreign investors equal rights.

The law bans the passage of discriminatory laws and acts and contains a number of benefits and concessions that, deputies believe, are supposed to boost investment in the Ukrainian economy.

Moldova

Further Reportage on Dnestr; Sabotage Feared

PM1809094391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent E. Kondratov: "Sabotage Fears in Moldova"]

[Text] There is alarm in Moldova. Fearing possible sabotage activities, the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs has put especially important bridges and dams under guard. The railroad blockade by women from Bendery and Rybnitsa, who are demanding the release of Gagauz and Dnestr region political leaders, continues.

Friday the deputies broke off their session for a day and toured the rayons of the Gagauz south and the Dnestr region. The purpose of the parliamentary foray was to convince people of the sound legal justification for the arrests, to explain the legislature's position, and also to explore the possibility of compromises.

The legislative weekend is scheduled to end in a showdown with journalists. Certain Moscow newspapers and Russian television, in the opinion of the legislature's leaders, are grossly distorting the essence of the democratic processes taking place in Moldova. A scrupulous study of who has recently written what about Moldova has been promised—so that an assessment can then be given to journalists in the legislature and hopefully, practical proposals can be made.

However, our own correspondents working in Moldova also have reason to take offense. Most of them have been deprived of vehicles hired by their editorial offices; PRAVDA and RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA have so far not been coming out, and the TASS office has been deprived of decent working conditions.

Snegur Creates Commission

LD1909041991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1315 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Kishinev, 17 Sep (TASS)—Mircha Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, today issued a decree on the formation of a state commission on the problems of Pridnestrovye [Dnestr]. This was reported by MOLDOVA-PRES.

The creation of the commission, says the document, is dictated by the need to improve the standards of living of the area's population under the conditions of a transition

to market relations and of closer cooperation between Pridnestrovye and other areas of Moldova. It also aims at coordinating the actions of local government bodies.

The state commission on the problems of Pridnestrovye operates under the leadership of the government of the Republic of Moldova. It numbers among its members people's deputies, the heads of ministries and departments, as well as some local government leaders from Pridnestrovye.

Speaking at the Supreme Soviet session today, Mircha Snegur noted that the situation in Pridnestrovye remains tense. The blockade of the railway continues. In retaliation, peasants in neighboring villages have blockaded Bendery, and goods are not getting through.

According to the president, some organs of the press, as well as Central and Russian Television, are continuing to distort the processes that are taking place in the republic.

Russian Deputies Meet Snegur

LD1809221691 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1542 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Kishinev, 18 Sep (TASS)—"It is possible to resolve the crisis in Moldova concerning the situation in Dnestr on the condition that law and human rights are observed by all authorities." This statement was made today by members of a working group of the Russian Supreme Soviet, who are in Moldova on the instruction of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, after today's meeting with Moldova's President Mircha Snegur. This was reported by Aleksandr Tanas, correspondent of the MOLDOVA-PRESS agency.

According to Sergey Krasavchenko, leader of the working group and member of the presidium of the Russian legislature, the delegation did not find any instances of human rights violations on the side of the Moldovan leadership. At the same time, according to him, the Dnestr region authorities are guilty of "some negligence which has made it more difficult for Moldovan people to exercise their fundamental right to teach their children a state language."

Russian deputies also think that the leaders of the Dnestr region have embarked on a path leading to a blind alley: "Picketing railway stations in Tiraspol, Bendery, and Rybnitsy by women demanding release of the arrested leaders of the Dnestr and Gagauz republics is not a spontaneous but a well-planned action." The members of the working group called on the pickets to stop the blockade.

The president of Moldova stated in a conversation with a group of Soviet and foreign journalists on 17 September that he "will never put his signature to the creation of the Dnestr republic." At the same time he

noted that "some measures are planned in a parliamentary way, the implementation of which will, in the near future, calm down the population of the region."

Russian Deputies Meet Leaders

AU1809123391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1107 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] (ROMPRES) 18/9/1991—The group of deputies from the Russian Federation on an official visit to the Republic of Moldova had a working visit with the leaders of the political and cultural organizations in the republic, MOLDOVA-PRES reports.

What we have seen these two days confirms once more that it is not ill will on the part of the Moldovan Government towards the inhabitants of Transdnestr, said the chairman of the Commission for Privatization of the Parliament of the Russian Federation, Sergey Krasavchenko. Knowing about the women who block the railway at Bendery, I had the impression that they were guarded not to disperse which proves that someone is interested in keeping them there, he said stressing that the Russian parliament has declared for a steady development of the democratization processes, the passage to the market economy, observance of human rights, the assertion of equitable national relations.

Economic Ramifications

PM1809101391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 14 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by unidentified TASS correspondent: "But the Railmen Are Suffering"]

[Text] Kishinev—Unload freight trains at auxiliary stations. This is the instruction received 11 September by all Moldovan Railroad station managers. At the moment there are 34 trains carrying various freight bound for Moldova piled up on the railroad. Yuri Gerasimov, chief of the Moldova Railroad Administration, announced that the trains would be unloaded in accordance with the government's decision, but the products would be put into storage. At the same time, he noted, a compulsory register of the enterprises and institutions to which the freight was destined would be compiled. The recipients would be able to collect the cargoes themselves.

Yuri Gerasimov added that, as a result of the rail blockade that has been going on since 1 September at the Tiraspol, Bendery, and Rybnitsa stations, losses in the order of 1.5 million rubles have been sustained by railmen alone. If the conflict in the Dnestr region is not settled soon, Yuri Gerasimov added, the administration cannot see where it will get the funds to pay the wages of the 30,000 railmen.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Urges People To Defend Government

LD1809204691 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1526 GMT 18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi, 18 Sep (TASS)—Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has called on the population of the republic "to defend the government and the parliament elected by the people" and "to thwart unlawful phenomena" in the capital.

Speaking on television early this morning, for which the broadcasting of programs from Moscow was interrupted, he once again accused the opposition of trying to seize and usurp power. The president claimed that he had approached his political opponents on a number of occasions with a proposal to establish the start of a dialogue.

However, recent events contradict Gamsakhurdia's latest statements, in which he allows for the possibility of a discussion only with those opposition parties that are represented in parliament.

The president concluded his speech by saying that Georgia is plunging into an abyss and he laid the blame for this on "destructive forces," his description for the democratic opposition.

Political Events 'Out of Gamsakhurdia's Control'

PM1909103591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Correspondent B. Urigashvili report: "Georgia: Situation Hotting Up"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The most important event on 17 September was, in my view, the statement made on behalf of the Union of Georgian Traditionalists by its chairman, A. Asatiani, who is also speaker of the Georgian parliament.

The Georgian Traditionalists belong to the ruling bloc of parties and represent a considerable force in parliament. Their standpoint can largely influence the subsequent course of events. The Traditionalists' statement says that it is necessary to begin talks between the authorities and the opposition immediately and examine all the latter's demands. In the Traditionalists' opinion, it is also necessary to admit representatives of the parliamentary opposition into the Supreme Soviet, give them an opportunity to address the next session, and broadcast the session's work itself live. The statement effectively acknowledges that Georgia lacks full freedom of speech and that the majority of the mass media toe the official line. As a solution to the problem, A. Asatiani and his union propose redistributing power between the official leadership and the opposition, adopting a new law on elections, and holding them at the earliest date.

Even a fleeting analysis of this statement enables you to draw the conclusion that one of the leading forces in the "Round Table" bloc, which has supported the president constantly, has adopted a course of limiting Gamsakhurdia's powers. Whether such a stance will be acceptable to the president himself and to the opposition is hard to say. After all, the opposition is demanding Gamsakhurdia's resignation. Although, to judge from the Georgian president's speech at a recent rally, you cannot say that he is burning with a desire to make concessions, but rallies where he is surrounded by fanatics yearning to hear bellicose talk from him are one thing, the real political situation is quite another. And today that situation is effectively out of Gamsakhurdia's control.

I strongly doubt, too, that the "intransigents" will respond to the gesture made by Supreme Soviet Chairman A. Asatiani and his supporters. By "intransigents" I mean first and foremost the National Democratic Party and the National Independence Party, headed by the young leaders I. Tsereteli and G. Chanturia. Rallies are their element. These parties' programs and aims are more declarative than realistic. They are destroyers rather than creators. And today they are at the center of attention of the press and the public. These parties are trying to extract the maximum from the situation, that is, Gamsakhurdia's unconditional resignation.

A few words about G. Chanturia, by the way, and the circumstances of his arrest which, in the opinion of many journalists and observers, is either a provocation by the authorities or an overreaction [neadekvatnaya reaktsiya] to events by a president who has lost his composure. Chanturia is charged with violating public order. If there is a trial, which I strongly doubt, Chanturia faces the threat of from one to three years' imprisonment. The National Democratic Party leader, who is being detained in a cell of the Interior Ministry city administration, has declared a hunger strike. V. Talakhadze, who was arrested with Chanturia at the airport, has been released. They are also promising to discharge I. Sarishvili.

Meanwhile the authorities are trying to deny the obvious—the fact that the airplane [carrying Chanturia] took off and was then brought straight back with tanks full of fuel and landed risking the 200 passengers' lives. However, there are too many witnesses for that. N. Gorgadze, Georgia's acting defense minister, has categorically denied his involvement in this incident. At a press conference on the afternoon of 17 September, G. Burdzhanaдзе, the president's press secretary, gave a concise reply to my question as to who ordered the plane to turn back: It was the air traffic controller. But he did not explain to journalists who had given the order to the air traffic controller.

On 18 September G. Khayndraza, another opposition representative and member of the National Congress presidium, was detained. The circumstances of his arrest are not known yet.

The picketing of Georgian Television continues. Television and radio broadcasts have been suspended since

yesterday. But late in the evening Gamsakhurdia managed to get on the air. As specialists explained to me, the broadcast was made using a transmission tower and reached only Tbilisi and adjoining regions. The president's speech was no longer than 2 minutes. He read an address to the people in which, among other things, he urged that "unlawful phenomena be halted so as to assert the supremacy of the law and defend the government and the parliament elected by the people."

It has become known that a Georgian Supreme Soviet session will be held 19 September. The question of the political situation created in the Republic of Georgia has been included as item three on the agenda.

Pro-, Anti-Gamsakhurdia Clashes

LD1809160391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1340 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Regrettably, the situation in the Georgian capital is becoming more difficult with every hour. Besik Khurogashvili, IZVESTIYA special correspondent in Tbilisi, went on the air on Mayak this morning by telephone and is now on the line again. Hello, we're listening!

[Khurogashvili] Hello. Passions have now become inflamed to the maximum on Rustaveli Prospekt in the center of the city. According to information received (?from the Supreme Soviet), the Georgian leadership intends to hold a mass demonstration. Busloads of Gamsakhurdia supporters are driving in from outlying districts. There are indications that people are being released from work so they can take part in this demonstration.

Disputes have broken out today between supporters and opponents of the president in various places in the city. True, things are not going so far as [words indistinct] clashes, but the situation is very alarming. Late last night (Georgiy Khaindrava), a member of the National Congress, was arrested. He is one of the most vehement opponents of Gamsakhurdia. According to some reports, a criminal case has been instituted against Irakliy Tsereteli, leader of the National Independence Party. Georgiy Chanturiya, who was arrested earlier, has begun a total hunger strike and the opposition continues to picket the state television and radio building. Broadcasts are not taking place.

A Supreme Soviet session is planned for tomorrow. One of the points on the agenda is the discussion of the current political situation. The Union of Georgian Traditionalists, which belongs to the Roundtable bloc, (?and which is one of the leading forces) in that bloc, has called for the extra-parliamentary opposition to be admitted to the session and for a live broadcast of the session to be made. To resolve the situation, they also propose that powers should be redistributed between the opposition and the present leadership, which effectively means a sharp limitation of the rights of President Gamsakhurdia.

This statement served as the grounds for rumors of the dismissal of Georgian Supreme Soviet Chairman Akakiy

Asatiani, who is also chairman of the Union of Georgian Traditionalists. But these rumors were not subsequently confirmed.

That is the situation we have today at this time.

[Announcer] Thank you for the information. We apologize to listeners for the poor quality of the link, but unfortunately we have no other channel and no other information.

Opposition Says President 'Doomed'

OW1809192991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgiy Zumbadze, a leading member of the opposition National Democratic Party [NDP] in Georgia, believes "Gamsakhurdia's dictatorship is doomed."

Addressing a news conference in Moscow on Wednesday, he said that President Zviad Gamsakhurdia had "signed his own verdict" by arresting one of the most prominent opposition figures, the NDP president Georgiy Chanturia. "Seeking to retain power, Gamsakhurdia has been making blunders, if not committing crimes," Mr. Zumbadze said.

As IF [INTERFAX] reported earlier, Georgiy Chanturia had been arrested at Tbilisi airport on the night of September 16 together with his colleagues Vakhtang Talakhadze and Irina Sarishvili. Saturday night saw the arrest of Georgiy Khaindrava, a member of the opposition National Congress.

More on Opposition Leader's Arrest

PM1909111191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[IZVESTIYA correspondent B. Urigashvili report: "Georgia: Opposition Leaders Arrested"]

[Text] On the evening of 16 September Georgiy Chanturia, leader of the Georgian National Democratic Party [GNDP] and Georgian President Z. Gamsakhurdia's most implacable adversary, was arrested, along with members of this party's main committee, Irina Sarishvili and Vakhtang Talakhadze.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent was told about this at the party's main committee. According to a GNDP spokesman, Chanturia, Sarishvili, and Talakhadze flew off to Moscow late Monday evening to meet with the U.S. ambassador. However, 20 minutes after takeoff the aircraft was brought back to Tbilisi and they were arrested right at the airport by people in civvies without any charges being brought.

I contacted Vakhtang Gvaramiy, the republic's deputy general prosecutor, who said that he no information about this, however, he added that everything indicates that neither Tbilisi's city or rayon prosecutor's office had authorized the arrest of the GNDP leaders. Vakhtang

Razmadze, the republic's general prosecutor, also knew nothing about the arrest of the opposition leaders.

Valiko Gogolashvili, representative of the Georgian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Press Center, whom I telephoned later, said that the republic MVD duty section had no information. I telephoned the assistant chairman of the republic KGB, who said, when asked about Chanturia's arrest, that the committee has no information about this.

Stormy events preceded the arrest of the GNDP leaders. On Monday evening an opposition demonstration was held in Tbilisi in which roughly 60,000 people, according to the most modest estimates, took part. The rally was addressed by representatives of opposition parties and the intelligentsia. The speech by Tengiz Sigua, who retired as Georgian prime minister 16 August, aroused the greatest interest in the gathering. Sigua described the policy pursued by the Georgian leadership as adventurist and fatal for the republic. He said that if there is no change in this course, Georgia can expect total isolation and "Albanianization." T. Sigua spoke particularly sharply about the economic policy pursued by the "Gamsakhurdia leadership," describing it as neobolshevist.

The opposition once again called for the president to resign and stressed that it would wage its struggle by solely peaceful constitutional means.

A "semiofficial rally" took place at the same time attended by nearly 5,000 people. Z. Gamsakhurdia who spoke at the rally said that the enemy has moved to the attack and urged the republic's population to set up civilian self-defense committees. A list of national guard battalions that had remained loyal to the president was then read out. Deputy David Berdzenishvili, representative of the Georgian Republic Party and member of the "Democratic Center" parliamentary faction, assessed these statements as an outright call for civil war.

There was another attempt to induce the Georgian Television leadership to provide objective coverage of events. A large rally outside the television and radio department demanded that ex-premier T. Sigua be given the air. The attempt failed.

...I have just spoken to the pilot of the aircraft on Flight 932 from Tbilisi to Moscow, Mikhail Oganessian. According to him, the order to turn back to Tbilisi came from Nodar Giorgadze, acting Georgian defense minister, when the aircraft was already over the Caucasus Mountains. After the aircraft had landed, it was surrounded by nearly 30 armed men. They entered the aircraft and arrested Chanturia and his companions.

Supreme Soviet To Discuss Political Crisis

LD1809150991 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT
18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi September 18 TASS—A meeting of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, scheduled for September 19, will discuss the political crisis in the republic.

Judging by the agenda published here today, the parliament will continue debates over the events of September 2, when an opposition rally was dispersed in Tbilisi.

Deputies are also expected to discuss the provision of all Georgian political parties with the right to TV addresses, as well as a law on land, which is now being prepared, and the privatization of housing.

Consider Emergency Measures

AU1909073691 Paris AFP in English 0730 GMT
19 Sep 91

[Text] Tbilisi, Sept 19 (AFP)—The Georgian Parliament was meeting Thursday to consider emergency measures following two weeks of mass demonstrations seeking the resignation of the troubled republic's President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, parliamentary sources said. Meeting for the second time in a week, the assembly was also expected to debate the arrest two days earlier of opposition leader Gia Chanturia, the sources said. Parliamentary speaker Akaki Assantiani has joined the parliamentary leadership in breaking with the president and calling for Chanturia's release.

The meeting comes a day after Gamsakhurdia lost control of state television amid a fresh demonstration by thousands of opponents to his rule. Most of the points on Thursday's agenda are concessions to the opposition, and major institutional changes could emerge from the session, the sources said.

Georgia's prosecutor general, Vakhtang Razmadze, has refused to indict Chanturia, head of the Democratic National Party. Under local law Chanturia cannot be detained without charges for more than 72 hours, and so must be released late Thursday barring intervention by the Georgian president.

Gamsakhurdia, increasingly isolated, took part in a rally late Wednesday by supporters brought to the capital from throughout the republic on buses rented by local authorities. An estimated 5,000 to 6,000 turned up, no more than on previous such occasions and far less than the recurrent protests by opponents of his regime.

Supreme Soviet Brands USSR Army 'Occupiers'

PM1909105991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 18 Sep 91 First Edition p 5

[Correspondent Colonel V. Kaushanskiy report under the "Direct line" rubric: "...Regarded as Occupiers"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 17 Sep—Journalists, avid for up-to-the-minute information from the session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, were finally rewarded by a news conference held hard on the heels of events by parliamentary chairman A. Asatiani.

The session passed, in particular, a resolution on the status of the USSR Armed Forces in the Republic of Georgia. The latter have been given the official status of "occupying military force." This prompted me at the news conference to ask Asatiani to comment on such an extraordinary parliamentary decision and at the same time on the character of future relations with the leadership and personnel of the Transcaucasus Military District. His reply was as follows:

"We have legally enshrined by this document the historical reality: The occupation of Georgia by units of the Red Army in February-March 1921. However, we do not intend to pin the label of occupiers on the officers and men serving today in the Transcaucasus Military District. They are all carrying out the orders of their command on the republic's territory. Moreover, we will not make any attempt to curtail the everyday, social, or other rights enjoyed by servicemen. That, in our view, is dishonest and pointless. We are proposing to the Soviet leadership that talks start on the withdrawal of troops from the republic's territory within the framework of the generally accepted international norms."

As the resolutions says, in the first instance talks will start with the USSR on the immediate withdrawal of Soviet Army units from the territory of the Abkhaz ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] and the former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, "as their presence and actions impede the stabilization of the situation in those regions."

Gamsakhurdia on Human Rights, 'Coexistence'

AU1809142891 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 3 Sep 91 p 1

[Statement by Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia in Tbilisi on 20 August]

[Text] The Republic of Georgia agrees with the viewpoint of the world's democratic states concerning a world order in which peaceful coexistence and all human rights will be protected. This will be a world where disagreements that arise between countries and nations will be resolved through dialogue and not by the use of force and threats.

Quite recently, the Georgian population finally rejected 70 years of slavery and voted for independence and democracy. It unconditionally supported the restoration of a democratic and sovereign state that will resolve any contentious issue with a neighboring country by peaceful means. Where a disagreement arises, our demand is straightforward: Let us sit down and talk and engage in dialogue as befits nations that are independent and respect one another.

Just like democratic countries, we want to establish peace and independence in our country. At the same time, the Republic of Georgia expresses the hope that, in the near future, it will become a full-fledged member of the world community.

In Georgia, the rights of all national minorities will be resolutely protected in full accordance with the norms of international law. We extend the hand of friendship to national minorities living in our country and call upon them to participate in the building of a new democratic Georgia where citizens professing different faiths and views will live together peacefully and as good neighbors. So, let us make a better and happier life for the future generations. Starting today, let us resolve any contentious issues in a sincere and peaceful atmosphere that will guarantee further rapprochement between us.

The aspiration of the Georgian nation to freedom and democracy signifies the protection of the rights of all citizens of the Republic of Georgia. Our principle is the primacy of the norms of international law and we declare that these norms will take full effect on Georgian territory.

We appeal to Moscow to grant us the means to move forward as befits a kind neighbor and partner so we can create the possibility of a better life for our peoples, become good trading partners, and help one another to build a bright future. If there are any disagreements, let us discuss them without any prior conditions. It is only on a parity basis that constructive dialogue will bring us that positive result in which both sides should be equally interested.

We declare to everyone: The future is bright and hopeful. Let us take advantage of this marvellous opportunity. Let democracy and dialogue replace dictatorship and oppression.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

Tbilisi, 20 August 1991.

Fighting Continues in South Ossetia

LD1909102191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0817 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 19 Sep (TASS)—Calm was disrupted again overnight in Tskhinvali, where a state of emergency is in force. Houses on the outskirts were fired on from the direction of the Georgian village of Zeminkozi. There was answering fire from the Ossetian side.

According to reports from the press center of the autonomous oblast's information committee, there have been several armed clashes, attacks on villages, vehicle hijackings, several hostages taken, and ransoms demanded in the last 24 hours in Tskhinvalskiy and Znauri rayons. The fate of thirteen Ossetian nationals captured four days ago in the village of Artsevi is unknown at the present time.

A statement by the extraordinary session of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast held in Tskhinvali has been made issued. It stated the desire of the peoples of South Ossetia to be part of the Russian Federation. This document has the support

of various public and political movements and organizations in the autonomous oblast. A final decision on the issue can only come from a referendum throughout the territory of South Ossetia.

TASS Bureau Attacked in Tbilisi

*LD1809181191 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT
18 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi September 18 TASS—A TASS bureau in Georgia came under attack last Monday when unidentified persons broke into the office and stole teletype and other equipment, blocking TASS reports about events in the republic.

A police officer investigating the incident said the attack was obviously provoked by Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's recent statements about the national mass media's hostility towards Georgia and was carried out by "one of the extremist groupings".

The stolen documents and equipment may be used for political purposes to forge materials discrediting TASS, as well as fabricate "evidence" of the "empire's plot" and a "fifth column" in Georgia.

Moscow September 18 TASS—Eduard Sagalayev, leader of the Soviet Confederation of Journalists' Unions, said this is an outrageous and absolutely arbitrary act.

He said the committee for protection of journalists's rights and freedom of speech set up by the confederation should also investigate the incident.

Armenia

Erkech Retaken, Battle for Manashid Continues

*LD1809204191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1000 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[Text] According to the Armenian news agency (NARUTYON), Armenian self-defense forces occupied Geranboyskiy's Erkech village, formerly Shaumanovskiy rayon of Azerbaijan, previously captured by the Azerbaijani OMON on the morning of 18 September. The Azerbaijani OMON captured overnight another Armenian village—Manashid. At dawn, however, armed Armenians recaptured it. As they retreated, the OMON members set fire to most of the houses. (NARUTYON) says that over the last 48 hours there have been two dead and seven wounded Armenians.

MVD Chief Views Outbreak of New Tensions

*PM1809103391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2*

[Sergey Bablunyan report "Direct Line" rubric: "Same Again—Blockade, Hostages"]

[Text] Yerevan—The movement of trains through Nakhichevan territory to Armenia has stopped. And a little over 10 days ago the route from the Idzhevan side was closed too. Armenia once again finds itself blockaded.

An even more alarming report: Eighty-four passengers on the Yerevan-Kafan train have been seized and continue to be held hostage on Azerbaijani territory.

What has caused the new spiral of tension—which had noticeably abated of late? Ashot Manucharyan, Armenia's acting minister of internal affairs, comments on the situation:

"The actions of irresponsible people and groupings on both sides acted as the detonator of the new outbreak of tension. Livestock rustling and the seizure of hostages have been resumed. The other day a group of unidentified persons stole a herd of livestock from Azerbaijani territory, our neighbors claim, and two shepherds disappeared."

Official Assesses Army Commander's Suicide

*OW1809200791 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1830 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to Colonel Mikhail Sorokin, chief of the political department of the Yerevan garrison, the suicide committed by the deputy commander of the 7th army stationed in Armenia, 43-year-old Maj.-Gen. Vladimir Gurtsev, was in no way connected with last month's failed coup. General Gurtsev is said to have locked himself in his working room on September 13 and discharged a pistol into his mouth.

Col. Sorokin believes the suicide must have had day-to-day difficulties behind it. One of the possible reasons for it may have been the failure by Mrs. Gurtsev to come to Yerevan where her husband had been transferred for permanent service from "the more privileged places" of Moscow and Hungary. The more severe working conditions may have negatively affected Gen. Gurtsev's frame of mind, Sorokin observed.

Azerbaijan

Moscow Envoy Denies Appeal for Gorbachev Decree

*OW1809160391 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1441 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azerbaijan's permanent representative in Moscow, Zaur Rustam-zade, has said the State Council did not urge Mikhail Gorbachev during its latest session to issue a decree aimed settling the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

In an interview with IF [INTERFAX], Mr. Rustam-zade said State Council members had only exchanged views on

the matter and decided to send the Russian and Kazakh leaders, Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev, to the conflict zone to see the situation for themselves.

One of the session participants had earlier told IF's reporter that the State Council had invited Gorbachev to issue a decree consisting of 5 provisions, including on the need to restore Soviets and other government bodies on the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh, on the withdrawal of troops and on putting an end to the armed confrontation between Armenia and Azerbaijan. IF carried a report to that effect on Monday.

Speaking on the replacement of the Azerbaijani Committee on Nagorno-Karabakh by a Coordinating Council expected to involve representatives of the various factions in the republic's parliament, Mr. Rustam-zade described it as an issue requiring parliamentary discussion.

He observed that the aggravation of the situation in Azerbaijan's Geranboy (formerly Shaumyanovsk) district last weekend may have been connected with the plan to discuss the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict by the State Council on Monday. "As soon as a hope arises for scaling tensions down, the Armenian militants immediately enervate their activities," Z. Rustam-zade said.

He stressed the point that Azerbaijan would open settlement talks with Armenia only after "all the Armenian militants have been withdrawn from Azerbaijani territory" and the Armenian parliament canceled its decision on Nagorno-Karabakh's incorporation into Armenia.

Mr. Rustam-zade said the Azerbaijani leadership maintains "peculiar" relations with the leaders of Nakhichevan (an autonomous republic within Azerbaijan), since "the policy pursued today by the head of the Nakhichevani Medjlis Geydar Aliyev is dangerous to Azerbaijan." He indicated that Mr. Aliyev may be trying to destabilize the Azerbaijani situation on a mandate from the Center.

Republic Abolishes NKAO Organization Committee

LD1909021791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 2230 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] The organization committee on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] was abolished by a decision of the leadership of the Republic of Azerbaijan. This was reported by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. The NKAO Coordination Council was set up instead of the organization committee. This information was received at a news conference at the Azerbaijani permanent mission, conducted by Zaur Rustam-Zade, plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan in Moscow. He also refuted the information—reported by the INTERFAX agency yesterday—that the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic State Council recommended that the USSR president issue a decree on NKAO.

Workers Reportedly Denied Wages for Strike

OW1809220991 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1830 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Azerbaijani Popular Front [APF], workers of a number of Baku's industrial plants, specifically of the Musabokov machine-building plant, were denied wages on Tuesday for having taken part in the September 3-8 strike organized by the APF.

Seven workers of the "Ozon" plant have been sacked for involvement in the strike movement. Workers at one of the Baku factories have launched a strike in protest against the sackings.

Participants in the strikes that were held in the Azerbaijani capital in early September supported the demands advanced by the opposition, notably that presidential elections not be held on September 8 (they did take place on that day), the Supreme Soviet be dissolved and multi-party parliamentary elections be announced, and that the activity of the Communist party [CP] be suspended and its property nationalized. The Azerbaijani CP was dissolved on September 14.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Gorbachev Drafts Decree on Stabilizing Situation

LD1809201791 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT
18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Alexander Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—A draft decree by the Soviet president, envisaging measures to normalize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, has been sent to leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia, a source from Gorbachev's associates told TASS this evening.

TASS has learned that the Soviet president plans to sign such a decree from another source at the Russian "White House" today. According to this source, the document is being prepared jointly by specialists from Soviet and Russian presidents' staffs.

It is not excluded that Russian president Yeltsin will "in some form discuss the content of the draft decree with the warring sides" during his trip to Nagorno-Karabakh scheduled for tomorrow.

Further TASS efforts to learn specific provisions of the draft decree were, however, fruitless.

The source from Gorbachev's associates said only that the document "is, to a considerable extent, a result of the discussion of Nagorno-Karabakh problems at the meeting of the council of state on September 16".

According to the source, experts, participating in its preparations, said about the "prematurity of divulging"

of the draft decree provisions. They explained their unwillingness to dwell on the draft decree by the "delicacy of the matter", which is being concerned.

Nagorno-Karabakh is the Armenian enclave on Azerbaijanian territory, which has recently become the spot of bloody clashes between the two neighbouring republics.

The conflict has claimed the lives of no less than 250 people—Armenians, Azerbaijanians, representatives of other ethnic groups, primarily from military formations sent to the area.

All efforts of the central union and republican authorities to find a mutually acceptable solution of this inter-ethnic conflict have so far been unsuccessful.

Fight for Villages in Shaumyanovskiy Detailed

NC1809193791 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Reports from Nagorno-Karabakh and Shaumyanovskiy are both encouraging and alarming at the same time. They are encouraging in the sense that the people, who have arisen in their war of liberation, will no longer acquiesce to imposed conditions and are ready to go to any length to protect their sacred right to exist on the lands of their forefathers.

Yes, we favor political dialogue with the other side; yes, we are willing to resolve the artificially prolonged problem of Nagorno-Karabakh through constitutional means. But what can we do if the leadership of the neighboring republic impedes in every possible way the attaining of a civilized solution to the problem and [words indistinct]. One cannot force the Armenian people to kneel.

At 0600 on 14 September the Armenian self-defense detachments launched an attack, occupying the Verishen television relay station, which OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] had previously occupied with the active support of the Soviet Army. One of our fighters, who was seriously wounded, died on 15 September. Two Azerbaijanis were killed. The number of injured Azerbaijanis is not yet known.

The fighting then spread to the outskirts of Buzluk. The Armenian self-defense detachments occupied Buzluk at around 1500 on 14 September. The Azerbaijani OMON retreated after abandoning their military equipment and sustaining major losses: They lost some 14 men.

It was later learned that OMON has also fled from Manashid.

It was reported from Shaumyanov that two Azerbaijanis were taken prisoner at the outskirts of Buzluk.

The Armenian forces have also occupied the village of Manashid. The fighting has now shifted to the outskirts of Erkech.

[Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian at 1730 GMT on 17 September reports the following: "According to reports from Nagorno-Karabakh, units of the Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia Detachment launched a massive attack this evening on Manashid village in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. The attack is being carried out with the use of artillery and (Avazan)-type missiles. Village resident Valeriy [surname indistinct] was killed."]

Military Column Attacked, Two Killed 18 Sep

LD1809194291 Moscow TASS in English 1930 GMT 18 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert September 18 TASS—Two people have been killed in Nagorno-Karabakh.

A military automobile column was attacked by unidentified persons at 7 a.m. on a mountainous road in the Mardakert region, Vitaliy Kolesnichenko, the deputy head of the headquarters of the commandant's office of the state of emergency area, told TASS.

Servicemen of the interior troops of the Soviet Interior Ministry opened response fire. Then, an armoured carrier ran on two mines: Warrant Officer Sergei Plakhotnyuk died while repulsing the attack.

After the attack, which also resulted in a slight injury of a soldier, the servicemen found and rendered harmless another eight explosive devices, as well as found ammunition.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted on this case.

Plakhotnyuk has become the 19th interior trooper to be killed in 1991 in the state of emergency area in Nagorno-Karabakh and neighbouring regions of the Azerbaijanian republic.

On the same day, peasant Eduard Osipyan, who was working in his vegetable garden, was killed by four unidentified persons in the Armenian settlement of Karin-Tak (Dashalty) of the Shusha region. The law enforcement bodies have begun the investigation.

Kazakhstan

Presidium Chooses Moscow Representation

PM1809160391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Vladimir Ardayev report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Kazakh Deputation Packs Bags"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—The list of USSR and Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputies who will represent the republic in the country's new Supreme Soviet has been determined.

It was determined not at a session of the republic's parliament but at an extended sitting of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet Presidium. Supreme Soviet Chairman Ye. Asanbayev explained this by saying that it is not expedient to convene the third extraordinary session in a year to consider only one question—that of rotation. They decided to choose the members of the republic deputation at a Presidium sitting and to backdate their confirmation subsequently, at the fall session in November.

It was proposed to replace only four USSR people's deputies from the Soviet of the Union's former membership, and to send five USSR people's deputies (including four from the former membership) and 15 Kazakh SSR people's deputies to the Council of the Republics from Kazakhstan.

Single Republican Information Ministry Formed

LD1909022591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0903 GMT 17 Sep 91

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Tatyana Zhurbenko]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 17 Sep (TASS)—A decree by Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev has been published today. It eliminates the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for the Press, the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and the Main Directorate for Protecting State Secrets in the Press and Other Mass Media at the Republic's Council of Ministers. All these departments, which were formerly separate, are being placed under the control of the recently created republican Ministry for the Press and Mass Information.

The aim of the reorganization lies primarily in ensuring the Republic's information independence and in providing state support for newspapers and magazines, television and radio broadcasting, and book publishing, which were the first to begin losing out during the switch to the market. Besides, the creation of "one roof" for journalists will make it possible to ensure real freedom of speech and freedom of the press, and to more fully meet the requirements of the population.

Newspapers Publish Privatization Program

LD1909043491 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT
17 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Olga Babiy]

[Text] Alma-Ata September 17 TASS—A programme for privatization was published in Kazakhstan newspapers today. According to the programme, the first stage of the privatization of the state property in the Republic will be carried out in 1991-92.

The document envisages transmission of small state businesses, public transportation system, building construction and state farms into a private property. The state housing will also be privatized. State-run large and medium industries will be owned either by joined stock companies or by business partnerships.

The programme details the whole process of privatization which will be based on a "coupon" system. Special commissions should be formed before October 1 under the auspices of local councils. They will oversee coupon allocation to all citizens of Kazakhstan. This amount is to be set to reflect the real contribution a citizen has made to the Republic's economy and to be a kind of reward. The coupons can then only be used to "buy" state property for private ownership. Estimates suggest that an average person with a twenty- one year long service will be able to buy the equivalent of a medium-size apartment or house.

All Kazakhstan residents were recently declared to be its citizens, with the exception of chronic alcoholics, drug users and people repeatedly charged with serious crime.

However, land in the Republic is declared to be the exclusive property of the state and will not be a subject to privatization. Agricultural enterprises and farms will either get land by perpetual tenure or lease.

Tajikistan

Communists Urge Political, Economic Stability

LD1809212591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0640 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Dushanbe, 18 Sep (TAJIKTA-TASS)—On the eve of the extraordinary Tajik communist congress, the Tajik Communist Party leadership has appealed to party members and all republic inhabitants calling for consolidation of all sociopolitical parties and movements and all social strata of the population to bring Tajikistan out of economic chaos and political instability. This is stated in a Tajik Communist Party Central Committee appeal published today in the independent republican publication NARODNAYA GAZETA.

The appeal voices the hope that "the various political parties and popular movements functioning on the republic's territory will display goodwill and not create an unhealthy fuss over the forthcoming communist congress." It stresses that "the congress is being held in strict accordance with the constitution and laws of Tajikistan, and communists have the right to resolve the future of their own party."